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THE
AFRICAN REPOSITORY,
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COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. IX.]

JUNE, 1833.

[No. 4.

FOURTH OF JULY CONTRIBUTIONS.

THE present Number of the Repository is, perhaps, the last which can reach any of our subscribers, except immediate neighbours, before the ensuing Fourth of July.

The Anniversary of Independence has of late been very generally, in the United States, used as an occasion for appealing from the pulpit to the public at large, on behalf of the Colonization Society. This fit association, through the instrumentality of our holy religion, of a great national event with a plan for accomplishing a great national benefit, has hitherto been attended with a success proportionable to its claims on the public favour. Much of what the Society has hitherto done towards effecting the purposes for which it was organized, is attributable to means afforded to it by pecuniary aid collected on the Fourth of July. And indeed it may be freely admitted, that without such aid, its position at the present moment would rather be that of an experiment promising in theory, and recommended by partial success, than of one whose practicability on a large scale had been proved, and whose importance had been illustrated by its extensive results.

The obligations to the Clergy under which the Institution rests, were emphatically recognized at the last annual meeting, by the unanimous adoption of the following resolution, which was moved by the Hon. Mr. WILLIAMS of North Carolina.

"Resolved that the Reverend Clergy who have taken up collections in their churches for the benefit of this Society, merit its warmest gratitude; and that they be invited to bring the claims of it annually before their people, and solicit their contributions for the advancement of its cause."

In the brief but eloquent speech of Mr. WILLIAMS in support of his resolution, he thus invoked the aid of the Clergy:—

"Suppose all the free coloured population in the United States to be transported to Africa, and by this means our own country to be rescued from an evil always troublesome and often perilous; suppose in the time to come that a great and powerful nation has sprung up on that continent, devoted to the principles of christianity and cultivating the arts of civilized life; suppose the neighboring African tribes, now involved in gross idolatry, ignorance and superstition, to be redeemed from this deplorable state, and brought to a knowledge of the true dignity and duty of man; suppose the slave-trade, that odious and detestable traffic, to be effectually suppressed, to be denounced and punished as piracy throughout the world;—suppose as the consequence of these renovations, that myriads of human beings have been rendered virtuous, intelligent, and happy, who otherwise, would have been vicious, uninformed and miserable: suppose all this, and you have, Mr. President, some inadequate idea of the magnificent objects contemplated by the Colonization Society. With what ardor, then; with what zeal,

with what strenuous exertion, must the Reverend Clergy co-operate with us in all our efforts. It is their peculiar province, to teach us our duty in works of benevolence and deeds of charity. Yielding obedience to the precepts, and imitating the example of the Master whom they profess to serve, the Reverend Clergy cannot relax in their exertions; but they will, on every suitable occasion, bring the claims of the Colonization Society before their people, and solicit contributions for the advancement of its cause. For this, men may thank them as we now propose to do, but Heaven will reward them."

The contributions expected to be made next month, are a matter of peculiar interest to the Society, as it is under heavy engagements, contracted for the benefit of the cause; and moreover, finds it necessary to protect the Colony, by timely aid, against the consequences of the failure of the rice and other crops in Africa, last year. It is therefore earnestly hoped that no exertion will be omitted by the Reverend Clergy, and others favourable to our cause, to swell the contributions at the next national anniversary, to an amount even greatly exceeding the liberal standard prescribed by those collected at the last.

RICHARD SMITH, Esq., to whom the American Colonization Society has been indebted during the last thirteen years for his able, faithful and gratuitous services, as its Treasurer, has resigned that office. The Rev. JAMES LAURIE, D. D. has been appointed Treasurer till the stated meeting of the Board to be held on the first Monday of July next, when a Treasurer will be elected for the residue of Mr. Smith's term.

REVIEW.

Narrative of the Ashantee War; with a view of the present state of the Colony of Sierra Leone. By Major RICKETTS, late of the Royal African Colonial Corps. Svo. pp. 221: London; W. Simpkin and R. Marshall. 1833.

The writer of this book was an officer of the British army in Africa, who had acquired considerable reputation by his military services, and by his exertions towards rendering the civil administration of the Colony at Sierra Leone creditable to his government, and beneficial to the natives. Copious information of his merits in these respects is afforded by himself; for though, like Cæsar in the Commentaries, he avoids in the "Narrative" the egotism of speaking in the first person, he is somewhat more minute in recording the several testimonials with which justice or gratitude had honoured his name, than his illustrious model would, perhaps, have deemed to be entirely in good taste.

About four-fifths of Major Ricketts' volume are devoted to the first subject indicated by its duplicate title,—the "Narrative of the Ashantee War." The public had been so long desiring an authentic account of the events of this war, and a satisfactory exposition of its causes, that Major Ricketts certainly acted judiciously in deciding to employ so large a portion of his work in endeavouring to gratify that feeling. In this effort, however, his good judgment seems to have been exhausted; for, in the execution of his plan, he is quite as unlucky as he was fortunate in its conception. There is scarcely any attempt at narrative within our recollection, which exhibits so curious an infelicity in the order, or rather the disorder of its facts; and which makes so little compensation for this grievous defect in historical writing, by any beauty of style, originality of thought, or fecundity in collateral topics.

In justice to Major Ricketts, we subjoin what has been generally regarded as among the most difficult parts of an author's task; but what is, nevertheless, in his instance, decidedly the best written portion of the book. We mean the *Preface*, which is as follows:

"The following narrative was originally written on the spot, without any view to publication, but having been subsequently submitted to the inspection of competent persons, it is now printed in conformity with their opinion; and it is to be hoped that the events related, as well as that part of the coast described, will be deemed sufficiently interesting at this particular period, when, owing to various causes, the public attention has been directed to Africa and her population.

"The author suffered shipwreck on that coast, and lost many documents which could not be recovered; but he has endeavoured, by unremitting exertions, in some measure, to supply the deficiency.

"The author's long residence in that country, and the various official situations which he there filled, enable him to present a correct account of the origin and final termination of those disastrous contentions, which for so long a period desolated the African shores, and which he sincerely hopes are now for ever closed.

"In submitting, therefore, this narration of facts, he trusts that it will be favourably received; and had not Providence left him the only surviving officer who witnessed most of the events on the Gold Coast, he would not have produced these pages, which are now published only from a sense of public duty."

From a narrative "*written on the spot*," by a person who possessed the advantage of a "*long residence in that country*," who, from the "*various official situations which he there filled*," conceived himself enabled "*to present a correct account of the origin and final termination of those disastrous contentions, which, for so long a period, desolated the African shores*," the reader has undoubtedly a right to expect, though not perhaps a graphical description, at least a faint sketch of the physical and moral characteristics of Ashantee, and an intelligible recital of military events which, for so many years, had provoked and baffled public curiosity. Yet, though the writer avows as one of the two grounds which he assigns for his hope of being "*sufficiently interesting*," "*that part of the coast described*," we venture to aver, that, but for Mr. Bowdich's interesting work, entitled "*Mission to Ashantee*," published in 1819, and Mr. Dupuis' Journal of his residence there, published in 1824, the public would, in despite of Major Ricketts' "*description*," be to this moment as ignorant of that martial state, as a schoolboy is of Sir Isaac Newton's philosophy, who has never met with the name of this great man, except in some catch-penny Biographical Dictionary. And as to the more immediate purpose of Major Ricketts' "*Narrative*," it is by no means certain that any reader of it, who is not a conjurer, will derive from it an idea of the "*origin*" or "*final termination*" of the Ashantee War, more precise than had already been given to him by the newspapers of the day. The author, near the beginning of his "*Narrative*," speaks of the "*origin*" of that War; and in the last sentence says,—"*Thus terminated these disastrous disputes, which had disturbed the country for nearly ten years.*" But the interval is occupied chiefly with a naked diary, and desultory anecdotes; while the mind of the reader is subjected to a constant and painful effort to detect the true order of events amid the cloud thrown over them by violent transitions, a capricious arrangement, and an uncertain chronology. In many instances, military memoirs, by military men, have been remarkable for perspicuity; and such constitute the most valuable records of the events which they commemorate. The Commentaries of Cæsar, though composed in a travelling carriage, while the writer was hastening from one battlefield to another, have been, ever since their appearance, a model for simplicity of style, and variety as well as accuracy of information, which continues to defy the emulation of the closet. In France, her military annals are, perhaps, her best historians. In England, and in the United States, some of the most interesting events in their wars have been best told by officers engaged in them, like Ludlow, Carleton, Johnstone, Tarleton, Lee, &c. Major Ricketts was, undoubtedly, under no obligation to produce as good a book as that of Julius Cæsar, or of any other soldier who had assumed the historian's office; but considering his opportunities, and the nature of his subject, he should have added something important to our previous knowledge of the Ashantees; and he was absolutely bound, in whatever he might write, to make himself be readily understood. Humble as such an expectation on the part of the reader would be, it is, nevertheless, doomed to disappointment; a feeling, aggravated when on referring to the preface, he is reminded that our author "*is the only surviving officer who witnessed most of the events on the Gold Coast.*" The remaining chances, then, for a satisfactory account of these events are, that the subject may be taken up by some judicious private, or by some friend of Major Ricketts, who will make a better use of his mate-

rials than was suggested by the advisers into whose hands he seems to have thrown himself.

Bad as this book is, it nevertheless has some redeeming qualities. It is illustrated by a map of the Gold Coast, and the interior of the country, which, if correct, must be useful, from the minuteness of the topography; and by coarse, but strongly delineated plates, representing James' Fort, Cape Coast Castle and town, and Accra. It is, moreover, very handsomely printed, except as to the punctuation, which is often execrable. But a more important consideration is, that it is the only work professing to give the details of the war with the Ashantees, or exhibiting any very recent particulars as to their manners, resources and geography. In these points of view, it is not without interest; and as one object of this Journal is to publish information concerning Africa, we purpose to lay before our readers copious extracts from a performance, than which there is none better on the subject which it treats of, merely, we partly believe, because there is no other.

From what has been said, it will of course be understood that we shall make no attempt to abstract from Major Ricketts' "Narrative," a regular account of the Ashantee war; an attempt which could not end otherwise than in conveying vague and indistinct notions of events already sufficiently apocryphal. All that we can do is to exhibit his principal facts, with some effort at arrangement, and to transcribe some passages of more interest or less confusion than the rest. Before doing this, however, it may be well for us briefly to call the reader's attention to a few prominent features in the history of Ashantee, and to the state of things existing there at the period when our author's recital begins.

The Kingdom of ASHANTEE, otherwise called *Assente* or *Asiente*, is a populous, powerful, and comparatively civilized territory of western Africa, extending from 6° to 9° N. L., and from the meridional line to 5° or 6° W. L.; or, according to some authorities, to 4° W. L. to the river Volta. On the north of it, are the Kong Mountains; on the east, the Kingdom of Dahomy; and on the south and west, a part of the Gold Coast and the Ivory Coast. Its capital is named Coomassie; and in 1829 the inhabitants of the Kingdom were estimated at a million. Until within a few years past it was scarcely known to Europe or America, though not very distant from the British Colony at Sierra Leone. So little attention had it excited when Malte Brun wrote his recent and voluminous work on geography, that he despatches it in a dozen lines.

The first, and most comprehensive account of it, was given by Mr. Bowdich in the work already alluded to; and of which, the widow of that lamented gentleman remarks, that "it is a detail of splendour and bravery, accompanied by shrewdness, reflection and ingenuity; a polish of manner, a taste for arts, and a dexterity of manufacture, showing an advancement that astonishes us in a people called barbarous."^{*}

This singular negro State is supposed to have been founded about a century ago, and to have been constantly at war with the neighbouring tribes until it finally acquired absolute dominion over some, and a species of feudal seignory over the rest. The Ashantees are entitled to a conspicuous place in the abhorrence of mankind, for having waged their wars and used their political ascendancy for the purpose of advancing the slave-trade. Residing in the interior, they sent their prisoners to the coast as slaves, and are said to have given rise to the celebrated *assiento* contracts made by Spain in aid of that infamous traffic.

Early in the present century, the chiefs of Assin, one of the kingdoms subdued by the monarchs of Ashantee, revolted, and being defeated, were pursued by the King of Ashantee into the territory of the Fantees, who not only

* "Excursions in Madeira and Porto Santo during the autumn of 1823, while on his third voyage to Africa; by the late T. EDWARD BOWDICH, Esq., to which is added by Mrs. BOWDICH, 1. A Narrative, &c. &c." p. 217, 218.

received, but joined the rebels. They were repeatedly vanquished. The conquerors first came in contact with the British about 16 years ago, at Annamaboe, a port on the gold coast, east of Cape Coast Castle. The inhabitants of this place, unable to resist their invaders, fled, and were massacred in great numbers. White, the British Governor, not only opened the gates of the fort for the reception of as many of the women and children as it could contain, but kept up a constant fire on the murderous enemy. An attack on the fort was the consequence; the following account of which, we extract from the London Annual Register, to which we shall be again indebted in the course of this article:*

“The English who had calculated at finding in their new adversaries a prowess somewhat on a level with that of the negroes on the coast, were exceedingly astonished at seeing them rush to the very muzzles of the cannon and fire with such precision that not a man could appear at an embrasure without being instantly brought down. A defence by 30 men, in a little old fort against 15,000 assailants, could not have lasted long; and Colonel Torrane, then chief Governor on the coast, hastened to send a reenforcement, and also to take measures for conciliating so formidable a power. With this view, he obtained possession of Cheboe, one of the revolted chiefs, then concealed near the castle, and sent him to the King, who caused him to be immediately beheaded. Hostilities ceased; and the Ashantees showed themselves most anxious to cultivate the favor and good-will of the British.”

We shall have occasion in the sequel to notice again the incident related at the close of the preceding extract. It excited suspicion and distrust in the breasts of the native tribes hostile to the Ashantees, which continued for many years to embarrass the operations of the Castle.

The Fantees having again rebelled, were again, in 1811, defeated. In 1816, the success of the Ashantees was still more signal. Cape Coast was long held in a state of blockade; and, but for the supplies afforded by the Castle, a great part of its inhabitants must have perished by famine. The result was the acknowledged authority of the Ashantees over the whole coast.

Under these circumstances, the Colonial government admitted the sovereignty of the king of Ashantee over the Fantee territory; consented to pay to him the rent which they had before paid to the Fantee princes; and, through Mr. Bowdich, the gentleman already spoken of, negotiated a treaty with him.—Mr. Dupuis, who was, not long afterwards, sent out to reside as a permanent agent at Coomassie, with the title of Consul, soon had difficulties to encounter. The Fantees, too easily crediting some rumors in circulation, that the king of Ashantee, then engaged in suppressing an insurrection in the subject state of Gaman, had sustained great reverses, once more rebelled. In this they were, in opposition to the advice of Mr. Dupuis, countenanced by Mr. Smith, the Governor of Cape Coast Castle. At length the king of Ashantee returned triumphantly from Gaman, and filled with resentment at the inhabitants of Cape Coast, for their late proceedings. Desiring to be on good terms with the English, instead of assailing Cape Coast Castle, he despatched a messenger of high rank, who, at an audience before the council, produced from a little morocco trunk, Bowdich's treaty, and causing it to be read over, article by article, asked if every part of it had not been violated.—The perplexed Governor at length consented that Mr. Dupuis, whose mission had not yet been carried into effect, should proceed to Coomassie, and the messenger agreed to wait for fresh instructions from the King. Soon after, a nephew of the king came in solemn embassy, attended by a retinue of 1200 men, chiefly armed, with a mixture of boys and girls. He brought a cordial welcome to Mr. Dupuis, and an assurance that due preparations had been made for his conveyance and reception.

Our author's account of this embassy is as follows:—On the 5th of January, 1820, a nephew of the king of Ashantee, attended by a numerous retinue, demanded on the part of the king, from the Cape Coast people, 1600 ounces of gold, on the plea that they abetted the Commendas in their insolent con-

* Annual Register for 1824. p. 125.

duct to his messengers; and also 1600 ounces, in consequence of the Governor having broken the treaty (probably meaning the treaty which had been made with Mr. Bowdich), as they said, by not procuring the king satisfaction from the Commendas and Cape Coast people. The pretensions of the Ashantees were resisted by the Governor; and Major Ricketts refers to the following passage, from which it would seem that the king of Ashantee abandoned his claim:

"I want the people to serve me, and serve white men. It is true I told the governor he must pay me gold, but now I see your face I am willing to relinquish that. Cape Coast, however, must give me gold, for they are my people, and if they will be insolent I must punish them; for unless I do so, all these countries will laugh, and say what kind of a King is this? The governor knows I am right, for he now sends word the people are unable to pay sixteen hundred ounces, and that if I will abate something it will be paid. 'What I tell you,' added the King, noticing my surprise, 'is very true; here is the messenger,' pointing to the man who brought the message up."—*Dupuis' Journal of a Residence in Ashantee*. p. 144.

After the decided manner in which, Major Ricketts assures us, the exactions of the king of the Ashantees were repelled, and the subsequent abandonment, by that potentate, "of his claim," we were somewhat surprised at finding in immediate sequence of this statement, the following sentence:

"The Cape Coast people having been enabled in June, by the assistance which was offered to them by the Castle, to make their final payment to the king of Ashantee, it was expected that his chief would have taken his departure for Coomassie."—"Narrative," p. 8.

Then follows an account of "his motive," i. e. it may be presumed, of the motive of the king's nephew for delaying his return home; and which he stated to be "further orders from the king to examine into the grounds of a difference between the Cape Coast people and the Fantees." p. 8. After detailing the grounds of this difference, Major Ricketts apprises his readers that "these events occurred in the beginning of April, 1821," a seasonable piece of information, indeed, as he had already contrived, in the course of eight pages, to involve them in a chronological quandary.

Mr. Dupuis, immediately after the interview between the governor and the king's nephew, proceeded to Coomassie. The king of Ashantee renewed his professions of amity to the British; withdrew his demand of money from the fort, and intimated his willingness to accept a moderate compensation for his claim upon the town. He even assumed the title of vassal to the king of England, and professed his readiness to lead 10,000 men to any part of the continent, where his services might be wanted; asserting, however, with a qualification for the benefit of the British, his own supremacy over all the countries on the coast. A treaty was concluded, the fifth article of which was in the following words:

"The king of Ashantee claims the Fantee territory as his dominions, which the consul on the part of the British government accedes to, in consideration, and on the express condition, that the king agrees to acknowledge the natives residing under British protection, entitled to the benefit of British laws, and to be amenable to them only in case of any act of aggression on their part."

The Governor of Cape Coast Castle refused to ratify this treaty,* which he

* Major Ricketts says that Mr. Dupuis "sanctioned the claims of Osai Tootoo Quamina over the liberty of the whole Fantee nation, which is as extensive and as populous as that of Ashantee." The Major gives the following extract from the supplementary articles of the treaty:

"It is hereby expressly stipulated, that the natives of Cape Coast Town being subjects of the King of Ashantee, are excluded from participating in the benefits of either of the treaties, as the King is resolved to eradicate from his dominions the seeds of disobedience and insubordination."—*Narrative*, p. 21.

In reference to this stipulation, Major Ricketts cites the following passage from Mr. Dupuis' Work:

"Originally this monarch intended to have written a letter to the King of England, containing sentiments to this effect, but changing his intention after the general treaty had been signed, he desired his ambassadors to explain his sentiments at the British court as they are here recorded. The propriety of writing them down in a treaty, he affirmed was manifest, as the governor and white men would know his immutable policy, and the public sentiments of his captains.—*Dupuis' Narrative of a Residence in Ashantee*. Appendix, p. cxxlii.

stigmatised as betraying the interests of both England and the Fantees, and refused to see the negotiator for several days after his return. The governor also excited the natives to revolt from the king of Ashantee. By his persuasion, and against the remonstrance of Mr. Dupuis, Sir George Collier, then commanding a squadron on the coast, promised his support, and refused to take on board two ambassadors that had come from Ashantee with a present of two beautiful leopards.

On the 9th of April, 1821, news "was received at Cape Coast that a black man belonging to that place had been cruelly murdered at Moorie. The troops of the Castle were in consequence immediately assembled, and marched to Moorie, where they found about two thousand men assembled, and saw the mangled remains of the victim. As soon as the troops entered the town, a fire was opened upon them; but the Fantees, who had assembled to assist the Ashantees in their demand on the Cape Coast people, retired as the troops advanced, and returned the fire." p. 9. This unexpected co-operation between the Ashantees and the Fantees, appears, if we rightly understand Major Ricketts, to have resulted from some dispute between them and the Cape Coast people, in which a man named Paintry, a Fantee Caboceer, was the prominent character. The Ashantees afterwards rallied the Fantees, but both retired on the approach of a force which the governor had assembled. They had fifty killed, among whom was Paintry; the loss on the other side was only two killed, and a few slightly wounded. This event would, one might think, have fully satisfied each party with the feelings and desigus of the other. But it seems that some further explanation was required to effect this object. "A short time after," says Major Ricketts,

"Messengers arrived at Cape Coast from the King of Ashantee, who stated that his majesty had heard that Paintry had been killed, and that he was directed to enquire of the governor, why this had been done without his being acquainted with it, and that they had brought the book of treaties, that the governor might look at them: the messengers being asked for what purpose, replied because the King said the governor had broken the law. The whole of the circumstances were however explained to the messengers for the satisfaction of the King, and in conclusion he was plainly told, that the government of Cape Coast acknowledged no right on the part of the King of Ashantee to interpose in any matter which occurred within the jurisdiction of the fort.

"On the 21st of August a party of Ashantees arrived at Cape Coast with a message to the governor, stating that a misrepresentation of the affair at Moorie had been made to the King, and that his majesty was so satisfied with the true account of the particulars given to his messengers, that he dropped the affair entirely, and had given orders that every obstruction to the direct communication of the Ashantees with Cape Coast should be immediately removed." p. 11, 12.

In January, 1822, according to our author, some Ashantees came to Cape Coast, with an insolent message to Mr. Smith, the governor, "and required him to swear on 'white man's book' (the Bible), and also the people of Cape Coast, that they were the good friends of the king." p. 12. During these disputes, the natives of Cape Coast, and the African Company's Government, had each erected some hasty fortifications made of clay.

In this posture of affairs, the administration of Cape Coast Castle was taken away from the African Company; and Sir CHARLES MACCARTHY was sent out by the British Government to take the command on that coast. For that purpose he embarked on board the *Iphigenia*, March 11, 1822. His arrival in the country in his new official capacity,* appears to have excited a general feeling of satisfaction, which was exhibited in a lively manner when the new

* "Sir Charles immediately proclaimed defiance to the power of Ashantee, and promised protection to the Fantees, who now rose again in revolt against their conquerors.

"Notwithstanding such provocation, the resentment of Ashantee was first shown only by a suspension of intercourse, and every thing remained as quiet as if the treaty had been in force. Those, however, who were familiar with the policy of that State, saw in this very silence, the omens of approaching tempest; for they knew that its great expeditions were always preceded by a long train, not only of military preparations, but of auguries, incantations, and sacrifices. Sir Charles, lulled into security, set out to visit the settlement of Sierra Leone."—*Annual Register for 1824*: p. 126, 127.

charter and proclamation were read. For some time previous, the Ashantees had suspended trading with Cape Coast, in consequence of a controversy between their king and the Cape Coast people, about his demand of presents to assist in making a splendid entry into his capital of Coomassie, after his victory over the king of Bentooko. The Cape Coast people, unwilling to offend the king of Ashantee, and yet apprehensive that their compliance with the present demand might be used as a precedent for future exactions, compromised the matter by making a sort of protest against the right of his majesty to the tribute, and sending him a present of fifty ounces of gold. Not long after, a similar demand was made of the people of Commenda, where was an abandoned English fort. But so extravagant was the requisition, when compared with the poverty of the inhabitants, that, after avering without effect, their inability to meet it, they refused to admit the messengers into the town. The king of Ashantee, taking fire at this alleged insult to his messengers, called on the Cape Coast people for satisfaction, alleging that the Commendas were their dependants, and in case of refusal, threatened the former with invasion. "The governor," says Major Ricketts,

"Replied that the Cape Coast people had not been guilty of any offence against the King of Ashantee, that they were by no means accessory to the conduct of the Commendas, nor ought they to suffer for their act of delinquency; and he added, that if the King commenced hostilities against the Cape Coast people, he should consider him as an enemy, and would afford them all the protection in his power." p. 5, 6.

(To be continued.)

COLONIZATION.

[From the (Philadelphia) Presbyterian, June 5.]

Mark this! The African question is approaching a crisis. The true friends of the coloured population should be on the alert. Let the Anti-Colonization plan prevail, and the emancipation of slaves in the southern States, will probably be procrastinated a century. The attempt talked of *in this city* to break down the American Colonization scheme, by the organization of a National *Anti-Slavery Society*, should be met (not by intrigue or reproach, but) by a consolidation of all the forces which can be brought in aid of the Liberian enterprise. We talk of 'great political questions.' *This is the great political question.* We talk of dividing the Union. *This is what will divide the Union.* * * * * * The views of sober and practical men in all parts of the country are converging—the Colonization Society is the only hope for Africans. We could weep over the phrensy of the zealots who under the show of philanthropy are vilifying this Institution. We know something of slavery from personal inspection, and while we know the picture drawn of it by the Liberator and his school to be falsely charged, we hate the system of bondage as the offspring of ****. We know something of slave-holders, and we lament this cancer on their body social. But the knife may be applied so as to kill the patient, and in this case is actually brandished by multitudes of empirics who never saw the disease.

We are summoned by the enemies of Colonization to drift down on a troubled sea. We would if it were in our power, utter a penetrating cry which should reach every recess of New England and the Western Reserve, and say, *Brethren! stay your hands!* Spare this single cable, which you now so madly threaten! or we are left to the turbulence of a tempestuous gulf.

DEFENCE OF COLONIZATION.

The Christian Spectator for March, contains a long and able article reviewing Mr. W. L. GARRISON's "Thoughts on African Colonization"; Mr. JAMES CROPPER's letter to Mr. THOMAS CLARKSON; Mr. C. STUART's "Prejudice Vincible"; and an article in the American Quarterly Review for September 1832 on the abolition of negro slavery.

We subjoin some passages of this Review, more immediately relating to the Colonization Society. Copious as these extracts are, every friend of the cause who reads them will participate in our regret that our limits have made it impossible for us to transfer more of this vigorous critique to the pages of the Repository.

In reference to Mr. GARRISON's "*Thoughts, &c.*" the Reviewers say:—

The allegations of this book against the American Colonization Society, as distinctly and formally set down, in so many sections, are the following:

I. "The American Colonization Society is pledged not to oppose the system of slavery;" or, as we read the running title of the section, it "is not hostile to slavery;" or, as it is expounded in another instance, it "is solemnly pledged not to interfere with the system of slavery, or in any manner to disturb the repose of the planters;" or, to turn to another paragraph, it "pledges itself not only to respect the system of slavery, but to frown indignantly upon those who shall dare to assail it."

II. "The American Colonization Society apologizes for slavery and slaveholders." That is—if we read aright—it "exonerates the supporters of the slave system from reprehension."

III. "The American Colonization Society recognizes slaves as property." "This recognition," says the accuser, "is not merely technical, or strictly confined to a statutable interpretation." [Pray, what is "a statutable interpretation" of a recognition?"] "I presume," he proceeds, "the advocates of the Society will attempt to evade this point, by saying that it never meant to concede the moral right of the masters to possess human beings; but the evidence against them is full and explicit. The Society, if language mean any thing, does unequivocally acknowledge property in slaves to be as legitimate and sacred as any other property, of which to deprive the owners either by force or by legislation without making restitution, would be unjust and tyrannical."

IV. "The American Colonization Society increases the value of slaves." "Thus" it "is the *apologist*, the *friend*, and the *patron* of SLAVEHOLDERS and SLAVERY."

V. It "is the enemy of immediate abolition."

VI. It "is nourished by fear and selfishness." Its "governing motive is fear—undisguised, excessive fear." "The principal object avowed for the removal of the free people of color, is, their corruptive and dangerous influence over the slave population." "Throughout all the speeches, addresses, and reports in behalf of the Society, it is confessed, in language strong and explicit, that an irrepressible and agonizing fear of the influence of the free people of color, over the slave population is the primary, essential, and prevalent motive for colonizing them on the coast of Africa—and not, as we are frequently urged to believe, a desire simply to meliorate their condition and civilize that continent."

VII. "The American Colonization Society aims at the utter expulsion of the blacks."—Its "implacable spirit is most apparent in its determination not to cease from its labors, until our whole colored population be expelled from the country." It "expressly denies the right of the slaves to enjoy their freedom and happiness in this country."

VIII. It "is the disparager of the free blacks." "The leaders in the African colonization crusade, seem to dwell with a malignant satisfaction upon the poverty and degradation of the free people of color, and are careful never to let an opportunity pass without heaping their abuse and contempt upon them."

IX. "The American Colonization Society denies the possibility of elevating the blacks in this country." In the running title, this accusation is thus expressed, "The American Colonization Society prevents the instruction of the blacks." In the course of the illustration it is explained thus, "The Society prevents the education of this class, in the most insidious and effectual manner, by constantly asserting that they must always be a degraded people in this country, and that the cultivation of their minds will avail them nothing."

X. "The American Colonization Society deceives and misleads the nation." This means, as we understand it, after a careful examination of the illustration and argument, not only that the hopes inspired by the establishment of the colony are delusive, and operate to divert the public mind from other and more efficient undertakings; but also that the Society, knowingly and intentionally imposes on the public by false representations of plain matters of fact.

These are the charges. The author does not regard one of them as light or trivial. His style and language show that, in every section, he considers himself as imputing great criminality to somebody. He is not merely exposing the error of attempting to colonize Africa with free people of color from America; he is charging crime upon a great multitude of persons.

Against whom then are these charges preferred? Whom does the accuser mean by the American Colonization Society? Does he mean merely the managers and executive officers

of the Institution, at Washington? Does he mean those individuals only, who habitually act and vote at the annual meetings in the Capital? Or does he use the title, "Colonization Society," to designate the great body of the friends and supporters of the African Colony of Liberia? We are constrained to adopt the latter construction. We cannot but suppose that when, in this pamphlet, he accuses "the American Colonization Society," he understands himself, and wishes to be understood by his readers, as bringing charges against the self-same persons, whom in his former pamphlet he accused, in nearly the same words, under the names of "colonizationists" and "supporters of the African scheme."

Yet it is not without some reason, some final cause, that in the present instance the object of attack is designated by another name. In the address to the people of color, the simple object was to prejudice their minds invincibly against the influence of a certain class of philanthropic individuals, namely, those who in any manner befriend the African Colony; and therefore the orator spoke of the "doctrines, principles, and purposes" of *colonizationists*. In the work now under review, the object is to prejudice the public at large, against any participation in the enterprise of colonizing Africa; and therefore the writer represents these "doctrines, principles, and purposes," as part and parcel of the American Colonization Society. The obvious scope and design of the whole book, is to make the readers feel, that they cannot support the enterprise of the American Colonization Society, without supporting, and virtually subscribing, all these opinions and principles. Here, then, is the first and leading fallacy of Mr. Garrison's indictment, a fallacy which we presume has imposed upon his mind, as we know it has imposed upon the minds of some others, more intelligent and coolheaded than he. Admitting, for the present, the perfect fairness of all the quotations in this book, admitting that the author has succeeded in fastening upon colonizationists, as he calls them, a mass of opinions and principles which deserve unqualified reprobation; what has this to do with Liberia, and the voluntary migration of colored people to the country of their ancestors? The opinions, speeches, essays, and professions of colonizationists, are one thing; and colonization itself, is another thing. The American Colonization Society has nothing to do with any man's opinions. It is no more a society for the propagation of particular doctrines respecting slavery, or respecting the capabilities, rights, and injuries of the people of color, than the Bank of the United States is a society for the propagation of particular doctrines respecting currency. Like the Bible Society, it asks no man what he believes; it sets forth no confession of faith to be subscribed by its friends. Like the Bible Society, it holds up the single definite work which it proposes to perform, and asks for nothing but co-operation. The only point of union which connects so many persons in that "combination," as Mr. Garrison calls it, is this, they all agree to co-operate in promoting the colonization of Africa, by the emigration of free people of color from America. Among them all, not one can be held responsible for the opinions, political or religious, of any other. We count it a privilege to number ourselves among the friends and supporters of African colonization. We are ready to give to the enterprise, whatever influence we can employ for its advancement. We believe that this enterprise is infallibly tending to great and good results; and we have often taken occasion to propound our opinions on this subject; but we never dreamed that in so doing, we were propounding opinions, for which all the individuals who might be found co-operating with us, were to be responsible. So others have published their speculations, in public debate or through the press; and however they may differ from us, in respect to this or that important bearing of the enterprise, whatever heresies they may hold about the rights of the people of color on this soil, or the practicability or even the desirableness of the speedy abolition of slavery, by what authority can they be hindered from speaking or writing in favor of colonization?—or who shall stand over against the Society's treasury, and forbid their money to come in, if they choose to give it? We have read speeches and essays in support of this cause, which contained, as we thought, serious errors; but little did we dream that any man had a right to impute those errors to us, or that we were bound to withdraw our friendship from the Society, till such men's mouths should be sealed up. Yet the very scope of Mr. Garrison's argument is, You must not favor the cause of African colonization, for, in so doing, you will give the right hand of fellowship to all the erroneous principles on which that enterprise has at any time been supported; and you will become a partaker in the guilt of all the selfish and unhallowed motives, which have ever had influence with any of its friends or advocates.

If the reader would see how completely the style of argument in this book, confounds the Society with every member of the Society, and with every friend and fellow-worker in the enterprise, let him read the argument and citations under the first section. "The American Colonization Society," says Mr. G. "is pledged not to oppose the system of slavery." Very true: the *Society* is pledged not to oppose slavery; and it is equally pledged not to oppose intemperance or sabbath-breaking; for by its constitution, its resources are to be exclusively directed to a particular object, and that object is not the publication of anti-slavery tracts, or the diffusion of temperance principles, or the instruction of the public mind respecting the authority of the christian sabbath, but the colonization of Africa. Yet this simple pledge, to wit, the fact that the constitution of the Society, makes it exclusively a colonization Society, and not an anti-slavery tract Society, is a grievous offense to Mr. Garrison. Straightway he rises into a towering passion against the Society, as if its members and friends, were one and all pledged, "solemnly pledged" as individuals, never to say a word in opposition to slavery. "I want no better reason than this," he exclaims, "to wage an uncompromising warfare against it. No man has a right to form an alliance with others, which prevents him from rebuking sin, or exposing the guilt of sinners." We are not aware that any such alliance has

been formed. Certainly we have never become a party to such a contract. Perhaps it will relieve the mind of this uncompromising man, to be informed that by the payment of one dollar annually, he himself may become a member of the American Colonization Society, and take a part with his voice and his vote, at all its meetings for business, and still be as zealous as ever in propagating his own peculiar opinions respecting slavery and the rights of Africans.

But, the author will tell us, the pledge of the constitution is not all: have I not summoned a cloud of witnesses, to prove something more? We ask in reply, how much more do these nine pages of extracts from speeches, reviews and essays, prove? So far as they merely repeat and expound the constitution of the Society, they prove nothing at all. So far as they advance beyond that line, they express simply the sentiments of individuals, and can be fairly imputed to none but their individual authors. Should it be said, that even with these limitations they prove that "colonizationists generally agree" in not opposing slavery; we may answer they prove no such thing, for it would be perfectly easy to quote from what the friends of the Society have said and written, at least as many pages, expressing sentiments of settled opposition to slavery, of ardent desire for its abolition, and of inflexible resolve to aim by peaceable means at the overthrow of the system.

Here then, we repeat, is the first and leading fallacy of the pamphlet before us, a fallacy which runs through every section. It regards any body who happens to speak or write in favor of colonization, as an authorized expositor of the views of the Society. It regards every exceptionable or seemingly exceptionable sentiment, which can be culled out of such speeches and essays, as if it were incorporated into the Society's constitution; and its constant aim is, to make the reader feel that if he befriends the cause, he gives his support to every such obnoxious sentiment.

We have other objections to the methods of proof adopted in this pamphlet. The author is chargeable with great unfairness in his quotations. Any reader who derives his first knowledge, or his chief knowledge of the Society from this pamphlet, is naturally impressed by the frequency with which citations are given from the reports of the Society. It seems as if the author were determined to have the very best authority for all his declarations. It seems as if the institution were to be condemned by the official statements of its managers, formally accepted by the members at their annual meetings. The effect of passages cited from "Second Annual Report," "Tenth Annual Report" etc., is highly important in respect to the impression which the author is aiming to produce on his readers. Now it so happened that we recognized as old acquaintances some of the sentences thus quoted and knew that such sentences were never incorporated in any report of the managers to the Society. This led us to examine a few other sentences quoted in the same manner, as from the official communications of the Board of Managers. One after another was searched for in vain through the body of the report referred to, and was found at last either in some speech delivered at the annual meeting, and published with the report as a part of the preliminary matter, or in some of the documents included as articles of intelligence in the appendix. And if we may judge from the multiplied instances which we have been at the trouble of examining, and which have been taken altogether at random, nearly all the quotations which seem to be from the Annual Reports, are only quotations from the matters which accompany the Annual Reports as published. Mr. Garrison may say, that in all this he had no intention to deceive; but whatever may have been his intention, the quotations are in fact unfair and deceptive.—He may say, that he referred to the reports only as pamphlets known by that name, he may say that the distinction between the report and the various matters printed with it, did not occur to him as important; but no apology can rectify the actual unfairness of his quotations. And what makes the unfairness more striking and more effectual, is, he recognizes at first, again and again, the very distinction which he afterwards so generally disregards. Through the first section and a part of the second, he carefully observes this distinction, in all his quotations; but then, as if he felt the necessity of something more imposing and authoritative than extracts from speeches and appendixes, and as if he had ascertained that he was likely to find very little which would be to his purpose, in the actual communications of the managers to their constituents, he begins suddenly to accumulate quotation upon quotation from "Annual Reports" in a style as deceptive as it is impressive. The deception may be accidental; but its effect is to mislead the uninformed and unsuspecting reader, as really as if it was designed.

In addition to this, the author palpably misconstrues the language, and misrepresents the sentiments, of those whose words he adduces in proof of his accusations. It is enough for us to bring forward such instances of this, as have happened, for particular reasons, to arrest our attention. A few examples of this kind, will suffice to show how far this pamphlet may be trusted as "an impartial exhibition" of the opinions entertained by the friends of colonization.

Among his nine pages of proofs, that the American Colonization Society is not hostile to slavery, we find the following passage cited from the Christian Spectator, for September, 1830.

This institution proposes to do good by a single specific course of measures. Its direct and specific purpose is *not the abolition of slavery*, [the italics are Mr. Garrison's, not ours.] or the relief of pauperism, or the extension of commerce and civilization, or the enlargement of science, or the conversion of the heathen. The single object which its constitution prescribes, and to which all its efforts are necessarily directed, is, African colonization from America. It proposes only to afford facilities for the voluntary emigration of free people of color from this country to the country of their fathers. pp. 45, 46.

Now who would suppose, from the manner in which this quotation is made, and the proposition of Mr. G. which it is designed to establish—who would suppose that one leading object of the article from which the sentence is extracted, is to prove that the progress of colonization will infallibly act upon public opinion throughout the slaveholding States, in such a manner as greatly to accelerate the abolition of slavery, and its abolition not by successive instances of private manumission, but by legislation? Who would suppose that the very document from which Mr. G. derives the proof that the Society makes no opposition to slavery, urges, as the grand argument in behalf of the Society, the infallible tendency of its enterprise, to abolish that unchristian and accursed system? Yet such is the fact.

In another place, the following sentences are credited to the African Repository. They belong in fact to an "Address to the public by the managers of the Colonization Society of Connecticut," published in 1828.

It is taken for granted, that *in present circumstances, any effort to produce a general and thorough amelioration in the character and condition of the free people of color, must be to a great extent fruitless.* In every part of the United States there is a broad and impassable line of demarcation between every man who has one drop of African blood in his veins, and every other class in the community. The habits, the feelings, all the prejudices of society—prejudices which neither refinement, nor argument, nor education, nor religion itself can subdue—mark the people of color, whether bond or free, as the subjects of a degradation inevitable and incurable. The African in the country belongs by birth to the very lowest station in society; and from that station he can never rise, be his talents, his enterprise, his virtues what they may. . . . They constitute a class by themselves—a class out of which no individual can be elevated, and below which none can be depressed. And this is the difficulty, the invariable and insuperable difficulty in the way of every scheme for their benefit. Much can be done for them—much has been done; but still they are, and, in this country, always must be a depressed and abject race: p. 136.

We have taken away Mr. Garrison's italics and capitals, and have restored the emphasis with which the words were originally printed. Will the reader believe, that this, as it stands in the pamphlet before us, is one of the author's strongest testimonies to prove that the American Colonization Society prevents the instruction of the blacks, and denies the possibility of elevating them in this country. The position which the writer of the Address undertakes to illustrate, in the paragraph from which these sentences are culled, is that "*IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES* any effort to produce a *general and thorough amelioration* in the character and condition of the people of color must be, *to a great extent, fruitless.*" The whole paragraph describes their condition as affected by "present circumstances." And one point, one distinct head of argument, which the address urges on the public, is the common, and with many friends of the Society, favorite topic, that the success and progress of the work of colonization will change those "present circumstances," that it "will not only bless the colonists, but will re-act to ELEVATE THE STANDING OF THOSE WHO REMAIN BEHIND," and that from beyond the Atlantic there will come a light to beam upon the degradation of the negro in America. We leave it to every man's sense of truth and fairness whether here is not, on the part of Mr. Garrison, something of the nature of misconstruction.

We go farther. This author not only misconstrues, but he garbles, mutilates, and interpolates false explanations, to make his misconstructions more effectual. Take the following example of a quotation from the same document from which the preceding was selected.

He [the planter] looks around him and sees that the condition of the great mass of emancipated Africans is one in comparison with which the condition of his slaves is enviable;—and he is convinced that if he withdraws from his slaves his authority, his support, his protection, and leaves them to shift for themselves, he turns them out to be vagabonds, and paupers, and felons, and to find in the work-house and the penitentiary, the home which they ought to have retained on his paternal acres. p. 62.

Here the interpolated explanation entirely changes the meaning of the sentence. The writer whose words are thus applied, is not speaking of "*the planter,*" that is, of planters generally; but is supposing a particular case, the case of a slaveholder by inheritance, who wishes to act conscientiously towards the beings whom he finds "dependent on him for protection and support and government," and who 'may be made to feel the evils of slavery as strongly as any man,'—and to prevent the possibility of such a misconstruction as Mr. Garrison has forced upon his language, he subjoins to the sentence above quoted, "This is no unreal case. There may be slaves—there are slaves by thousands and tens of thousands—whose condition is that of the most abject distress; but these are the slaves of masters whose whole conduct is a constant violation of duty, and with whom the suggestion of giving freedom to their slaves would not be harbored for a moment. The case which we have supposed, is the case of a master really desirous to benefit his slaves." The author of *Thoughts on African Colonization* has certainly some peculiar ideas of the way to make "an impartial exhibition" of other men's opinions.

To the foregoing passages we can only add some extracts from the summary by the Reviewers of the tendencies of the scheme of Colonization, so far as the abolition of slavery is concerned.

1. It secures in many instances the emancipation of slaves by individuals, and thus brings the power of example to bear on public sentiment. This is not conjecture; it is proved by the induction of particulars. The friends of the Colonization Society, in their arguments on this subject, can read of a catalogue of instances, in which emancipation has already resulted

from the progress of this work. We know that on the other hand it is said, that the arguments and statements of colonizationists prevent emancipation. But the proper proof of this assertion would be, to bring forward the particular facts. Tell us of the individuals who have, as a matter of fact, been effectually hindered from setting their slaves at large, by what they have read in the African Repository, or by what they have heard from the agents of the Society. We say then that, unless the testimony of facts can deceive us, colonization is bringing the power of example to bear on public sentiment at the South, in regard to slavery. Each single instance of emancipation is indeed a small matter when compared with the continued slavery of two millions; but every such instance, occurring in the midst of a slaveholding community, is a strong appeal to the natural sentiments of benevolence and justice, in all who witness it.

2. This work, as it advances, tends to improve the character and elevate the condition of the free people of color, and thus to take away one standing and very influential argument against both individual emancipation and general abolition. This, to an unprejudiced mind, is one of the most obvious tendencies of African colonization. As we said on a former occasion,* so we say again, with the assurance that whoever may deny it, none will disbelieve it, 'Not Hayti has done more to make the negro character respected by mankind, and to afford the means of making the negro conscious of his manhood, than Liberia has already accomplished. The name of Lot Cary is worth more than the name of Boyer or Petion. It has done, it is doing, more to rescue the African character from degradation, than could be done by a thousand volumes of reproaches against prejudice.' And thus it has done, and is doing, more to accelerate the abolition of slavery, than could be done by a shipload of such pamphlets and speeches as some that we might mention. Elevate the character of the free people of color—let it be seen that they are men indeed—let the degrading associations which follow them, be broken up by the actual improvement of their character as a people; and negro slavery must rapidly wither and die.

3. African colonization, so far as it is successful, will bring free labor into the fairest and most extended competition with slave labor, and will thus make the universal abolition of slavery inevitable. Doubtless the cultivation of tropical countries by the labor of free and civilized men, must at some time or other bring about this result, whether our colony is to prosper or to fail. We know what changes have taken place in Mexico and the South American republics. We know what changes are threatened and promised in the West Indies. But at the same time we are confident, that the most rapid and most effectual way to bring free labor into fair competition with slave labor, and thus to drive the products of the latter out of every market, is to establish, on the soil of Africa, a free and civilized commonwealth, whose institutions shall all be fashioned after American models, and whose population shall be pervaded and impelled by the spirit of American enterprise. This is the work which the American Colonization Society is prosecuting with all its resources. * *

4. The prosecution of this work is already introducing into the slaveholding States, inquiry and discussion respecting the evils of the existing structure of society there, and the possibility of its abolition. The great body of the friends of the Colonization Society at the South, no less than at the North, regard the scheme of that institution as something which will ultimately, in some way, deliver the country from the curse of slavery. All who oppose the Society there, oppose it on the same ground; they look upon it as being, in its tendency and in the hopes of its supporters, an anti-slavery project.

JUDGE TEST'S ADDRESS.

(CONCLUDED FROM PAGE 80.)

We conclude in the present number of the Repository our extracts from Judge Test's Address. The portions of it which are omitted, are on topics with which our readers have become familiar from other sources, or are such as seemed likely to interest them in a less degree than the passages which we publish.

In some parts of the interior indeed, there appears to be a degree of civilization prevailing, hardly to be expected in so wild a country; and wherever the light of truth has made its appearance, the practice of manstealing is held in the greatest abhorrence. Major Laing, who went to Tombuctoo in 1825 or 6, with some merchants from Tripoli, was demanded soon after he arrived, by 30,000 of the citizens, or Fellahs, to put him to death, for fear he would carry news to the christians, who would come to take them into slavery.—The commander of the town would not surrender him, and sent him away privately with some of his own life guard; but they discovered his rout, overtook him and killed him, and his escort.

* Christian Spectator, 1832, pp. 135, 136.

I know the inquiry may be made, why have not the results contemplated taken place long ago?—there have been christian settlements all along the coast of Guinea for many years—you have already the Cape of Good Hope, Saint George Del Mina, Cape Coast Castle, with a strong citadel, and Sierra Leone, besides many others which need not be enumerated; why have not these effected some good, they have been long established? The answer is at hand; so far from operating against the slave-trade, they have been used in promoting it. These establishments have generally been made by companies chartered by France, England, Holland, Portugal or Spain, and really intended for no other purpose than to facilitate trade with the natives, and that trade itself extending to the purchase of slaves—indeed it may be said, they have been the nurseries of that vile and infamous traffic since their establishment, until within a very few years. As the world has grown more enlightened, as religion, science, and knowledge have spread, the traffic in human flesh, and the subjugation of man by his fellow man, are held more and more in abhorrence. And these very establishments, lately the haunts of pirates and hotbeds of iniquity, under the auspices of a more enlightened age, may be made to aid in giving liberty, dignity, and character to those very people, toward whom they have been so long used as the instruments of degradation and oppression. It has universally been the case, that where a mild and philanthropic course has been pursued toward the natives, they have been readily taught to see the heinousness of enslaving their fellow men, and have not only abandoned it, but held it in the greatest possible abhorrence. Indeed there are not wanting evidences of their zeal in opposing those who have been hardy enough to attempt the pollution of the soil of Liberia with the abominable traffic, for they have turned out in mass to aid in bringing to justice, offenders against the laws of the Colony in that respect.

It does seem contrary to nature itself, to every spring or motive to human action, that beings identified in all their qualities and attributes, connected together under even the most imperfect forms of social existence, could ever find a motive thus to degrade and oppress their species. But living under the benignant influence of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the light of science, and the examples of refined morality, it is altogether inconceivable. Teach the poor ignorant African his duty to his God and his fellow, and his docility will induce him to join us “in every good and perfect work.”

Admitting those premises, which I am disposed to assume as *postulata*, it becomes only necessary to point out the means by which the Society is to accomplish this great and sublime part of their original intention; that is, of putting down the slave-trade, and annihilating slavery itself, by colonizing the free blacks in Africa. I have heretofore remarked that there are places in the interior of Africa, in which civilization has arrived at a point we should scarcely look for. There are large kingdoms and populous towns, which carry on an extensive trade with the Turks—and where the Mahomedan creed is taught and practised. These towns and kingdoms have remained exempt from the ravages of the Arab by their strength, their populousness, and indeed by becoming the instruments in obtaining slaves from the less populous and more feeble kingdoms. There is the kingdom of Footah Jollah, of which Teembo is the capital, and is as large as Baltimore; they can take into the field 16,000 cavalry; this city cannot be more than 250 miles from Monrovia N. Prince Abhuhl Rahaman, who had been a slave in this country for about forty years, but has now gone home, was entitled to the throne of that kingdom while he was a slave here. * * * The territory of this kingdom is as large as all New England.

The kingdom of Ashantee, of which Coomassie is the capital, lies about 150 miles in the interior, north of Cape Coast Castle; and from any calculation that I can make, it cannot be more than 250 miles from Liberia. Even the Cape has trembled when these powerful people have moved. Mr. Bowdich says, he never saw so rich a soil as in the country of the Fantecy,

which lies on the road to that country. The Ashantees are perhaps the richest and most numerous of any in the centre of Africa, except perhaps the Tombuctoos. Their population is estimated at a million of souls, and their warriors at 200,000. The arts and sciences seem to be understood by them; their houses are ornamented in rather a pleasing style, and neatness and order universally prevail. The population of Coomassie is thought to be 100,000. Mr. Bowdich says, that in washing the filth of the market place, they sometimes obtain 800 oz. of gold-dust. He declares that he heard, in the deep recesses of that vast continent, in a place called Gaboon, Handel's hallelujah. I mention this only to show the identity of genius in every place. It is said to be one of Handel's boldest and most masterly pieces of music, and Mr. Bowdich says, that the player, who was a negro, appeared so carried away with his performance, that he was led to inquire if he was not insane; he was told not, except when he performed upon his instrument, and that at such times he always exhibited signs of insanity.

Dahomy is another very fertile and powerful kingdom, in the neighborhood of Liberia. The King's palace is surrounded by a mudwall, enclosing about a mile square of land; the inhabitants are kind and courteous to strangers—but a very warlike people. The avenue to the King's palace is paved with human skulls.

Tombuctoo is another large and populous kingdom, with a capital of the same name, containing a splendid mosque and palace built of stone. The African Association calls this a luxurious, opulent and flourishing city—governed by a severe police, and which attracts the merchants of all the principal towns in Africa. There are great numbers of weavers of cotton clothes in this city, and goods are carried in caravans from thence to other parts of the continent. The British settlement of Sierra Leone, it is said, are cutting a road from thence to that city; and it is contemplated by the citizens of Liberia, I believe, to do the same in time, or when they shall find themselves able—King Boatswain has agreed to give a privilege 150 miles through his territory. This city must be distant from Monrovia, about 5 or 6 hundred miles, and about half the distance from Sierra Leone. It will perhaps, not be amiss here, to be a little more particular in relation to Tombuctoo. It is said to be a city nearly or quite as large as New York. We have this description from Abduhl Rahaman, whose grandfather was the reigning monarch of that kingdom forty years ago, while Prince was a slave in this country. Prince is an intelligent man; he was educated in Tombuctoo, and wrote and read the Arabic language with facility, and understood something of the sciences, and particularly that of the law. The account he gives, corresponds with the history and geography of the countries he describes; so that his relations have every appearance of truth, and are entitled to credit. He was the rightful heir to the throne, but while he was a slave here, the descent passed him and fell upon his brother. * * * *

It seems to me that I shall have merely to state facts, and leave you to draw the conclusion, for to attempt a course of reasoning upon all the various facts which present themselves, would be to extend this address to an unreasonable length. I will beg leave however, to further make a general statement in relation to the geography of that continent, in order to show the facility with which a Colony may be established there, and its general bearing and operation, as connected with the promotion of the objects of this Society, as well as its influence upon the political aspect of affairs in this country generally.

It is a remarkable fact, that within fifty miles of the border of the Mediterranean, south, there is an arid, barren desert, six or seven hundred miles in width, without a river and scarcely a drop of water, and at the distance of two or three hundred miles further south from its termination, there is an inland sea, said to be nearly 1000 miles in circumference, and from which, I believe, there never has yet certainly been discovered, an outlet to the sea.—This lake is near the centre of the continent, east and west, and around its

banks, nature seems to have scattered her bounties in the greatest profusion. Numbers of rivers, and some very large ones, flow into it, and some have thought the Niger itself did so. There is another remarkable fact, worthy of notice, in the geography of this country, and as it may have a bearing on the general discussion of the subject before us, I will beg leave to mention it.—The Isthmus of Suez is about 70 miles in width, and it has almost a regular declivity of about six inches a mile, to the Mediterranean sea; and with a small relative amount of labor, a canal might be cut from one to the other; thereby, opening a passage into the Indian Ocean through the Red sea, instead of having to travel a boisterous circuit, nearly ten thousand miles, around the Cape of Good Hope. * * * * *

The Senegal, penetrates the continent about 1000 miles, the Gambia about 700, and the Saint Paul's, (near the banks of which, stands the town of Monrovia,) about 250 miles, and all have their sources near to each other in the Kong Mountains, the western extremity of that range called in Egypt the Mountains of the Moon, in which rises the Nile; and the better opinion now seems to be, so far as I am informed, that an arm of even the great and mysterious Niger itself descends to the Western Ocean, some where about the Bight of Benin, or Bay of Formosa, not very distant from the territory of Liberia.

With the exception of a few establishments, made by individuals belonging to various nations, and under their countenance, the whole Western coast of Africa, from the point of the great desert in the 20th degree of north latitude, to the 30th degree of south, may be said to be fairly open for colonization, by the various governments of the civilized world, and holds out an invitation to philanthropy to exert itself in favor of the poor ignorant and enslaved African, while it calls upon those nations in a voice terrible as the denunciations of Divine vengeance, to do justice to the hapless millions, their injustice has doomed to captivity. I have been more particular on this part of our subject, with a view of showing, not only the facility with which Colonies may be established in that country, but to show the care with which a trade with the interior as well as the exterior may be carried on.

The whole Western coast of Africa is indented with a multitude of inlets, which ebb and flow but a short distance in the country, but are headed by streams that water, for a considerable distance, the most fertile region that can be imagined, and which might be navigated with flat boats, and steam boats. If the knowledge of applying the power of steam to the propelling of vessels, had been discovered some two or three hundred years ago, Africa would not till this day have remained a howling wilderness. It is said indeed, that some individuals in England have already applied to their government for a monopoly in navigating the African rivers with steam. I have no hesitation in saying, that a trade with that country holds out prospects of great emolument to the adventurers—and I will venture to say, that if we neglect it, it will not be long before it will be monopolized by the British.—The country abounds in all the tropical fruits, and vegetable productions.—Cotton grows luxuriantly, and is of a much better staple than any raised in North America. The sugar-cane flourishes and is of the best kind, and coffee grows spontaneously, and may be cultivated to any extent—one tree it is said, will produce nine pounds, and they grow to the height of forty feet.—Although it is very lately since the inhabitants have had any idea of its becoming an article of commerce, yet it is already brought to the coast and sold at about four cents a pound. Rice grows in profusion, and without watering, as required here; iron is plenty, gold is abundant, and so is silver. Indeed gold is so common that the Executioner in Coomassie on a festival, wears a large hatchet of it round his neck, as the badge of his profession. The King of Ashantee, it seems, built him a house, the windows of which are cased with gold, and the pillars of his piazzas are made of ivory. Mr. Bowdich says, "that at a procession he was witness to, gold and silver pipes and canes dazzled the eye in every direction. Wolves' and rams' heads as large as life,

cast in gold, were suspended from their gold-handled swords, which were belted round them in great numbers." Ivory is an article of common trade; gums and medicinal drugs of various kinds are plenty; indigo and dye woods of almost every description, may be produced in unlimited quantities. All these various articles might be got of them, in exchange for commodities, which with us would be considered light and of little value. Indeed I have no hesitation in saying, that if a trade was set on foot with these people, for the products of their soil, instead of their flesh and blood, it might be made the means of redeeming them from their barbarism, and of adding new resources to our national power and national wealth. Our trade with foreign countries, for the above enumerated articles of produce, amounts to perhaps ten millions annually. And suppose it were exclusively directed to Africa, so far as a supply could be had, would it not be of greater mutual benefit, than could be derived from any other direction we could give it? The Senegal and the Gambia both pervade the country of the Foulahs, which borders on the territory belonging to the Colonization Society, and is bounded in part by the river Mesurada on the south. The grain coast, the ivory coast, and the gold coast, or the territory of the Ashantees south-east of Liberia, are penetrated with small rivers, and indeed so is the whole of the country south, including Dahoma, Galbonias, Gaboon, Loango, Congo, Angola and as low down as Cape Negro, in latitude 16 south, and no doubt, could all be navigated for a considerable distance in the country, by steam boats; and by establishing depots on the coast, it is not difficult to see, that the whole of the trade of the exterior might be brought to those points and concentrated at Monrovia.—The consequence would be, by the establishment of a general intercourse, that those depots would constitute principal marts—would rise into towns and cities, and in time would become seats of learning, opulence, politeness and religion. The Niger, under various names, if reliance can be placed upon travellers, seems to pervade this continent from east to west, nearly 2000 miles; and if it be true, that an arm of it descends to the Bight of Benin, the produce of the whole interior beyond Lake Tchad, may be drawn to a few points on the western coast of this continent, by the power of steam acting upon those rivers; and wherever the principal point of this trade shall be, it will admit of the largest city, for it will concentrate a larger portion of commerce than any one spot on the globe. It is indeed said, that near the Bay of Benin once stood, one of the most populous and commercial cities in Africa, until the withering blast of the slave-trade past over it, and swept all its splendors to the ocean of oblivion. It will not be necessary to detain you long in delineating the relative advantages of the two points, Benin and Monrovia, as regards the location of their rival pretensions for this conspicuous point in the commercial world. The country around the Gulf of Benin is low, marshy, and of course unhealthy, which may be one of the causes of the almost entire annihilation of the splendid city which once graced its shores. It lies too far east for the trade from the western continent, and it is so situated, that the European trade must pass upwards of 1000 miles, immediately by Monrovia, to get to it; the latter lying in 67° E. L. from Washington City, while it lies in 87° of the same. The harbour of Monrovia is spacious, commanding and secure, the situation of the town high and healthy, the country around it fertile, abounding in mill-seats, and forest timber adapted to house and ship-building, and indeed, possessing every facility for the founding of a great commercial city; the Saint Paul's and Pissou rivers rising in the country east; the one supposed to be navigable for small craft near or quite an hundred miles, the other upwards of 200. I mention the Pissou and the St. Paul's rivers; and I beg leave here to correct an error in the geography of Africa, in relation to Mesurada river. The maps, nearly all that mention it, lay it down as being three hundred miles long. It is not so; it is a very short river, and answers no purpose of navigation, I believe, but to furnish a commodious harbor, being a mere inlet of the sea. The town of Monrovia is well

situated to become the general mart of Western, and indeed of all Africa. It lies at a point on the coast, where a large portion of the internal trade must centre, about half way between the Bay of Benin and the mouth of the Senegal, and in the track where vessels from Europe and America will generally first make the land. As conclusive evidence of its superior advantages in point of trade and commerce, it is only necessary to state the fact, that the Colony, with a population of only 2000 souls, exported, during the last year, articles of commerce of the value of \$100,000. We have the testimony of other nations, that Monrovia is the most eligible port on the west coast of Africa. Sometimes not less than five square-rigged vessels are there at the same time, and but few, scarcely a day, passes without an arrival or a departure. That the inland trade of the country may be very readily drawn to Monrovia from a vast circle round it, is evinced by the large amount of its exports; and a number of the Colonists, who went there emancipated slaves, entirely ignorant of commercial concerns, and destitute of every thing, have amassed considerable fortunes within a few years. Several vessels are now engaged in the coasting trade. * * * *

The Colony of Liberia will be amply sufficient to receive the blacks as fast as they can be prudently sent there. There are now in the U. S. about 300,000 free blacks, and about 2,000,000 of slaves. During the last ten years, the annual increase has been about three and a third per cent. There are now about 2,300,000 blacks; and if they continue to increase at the same rate for sixty years, without intermission, there will be upwards of 9,200,000. The increase for the first year, will be about 69,000, and for the last, nearly 270,000. The increase is by a direct ratio, and is very rapid, while the decrease is by an inverse ratio, and is equally rapid. For example, if they are permitted to increase on for sixty years by the same ratio, that they have for the last ten years, their number will be augmented upwards of 6,700,000, but if you subtract from their numbers 69,000 annually, which is the increase, they remain in statu quo—so that although you have removed but 4,140,000, yet you have 6,700,000 less than you would have, if you had removed none. Take another view of the subject; suppose you keep down the increase of the blacks, see how the ratio between them and the whites varies. There is now one black to five whites: if the increase of the black population be carried off, at the end of sixty years there will not be one black to thirty whites. When, if they are suffered to remain, and shall continue to gain in numbers as they have done, they will stand to the whites, nearly as one to three. The next question that occurs is, would it be prudent to send so great a number in one year as 60,000? I should say not at present, but as the Colony shall improve and increase in numbers, its capacity to sustain population will enlarge, and in a few years you may, with safety and propriety, send 100,000 annually.

Africa is yet almost a wilderness, and from the dispositions evinced by the natives towards the Colony now established, and from every communication we and other nations have had with them, we have every assurance, that territory sufficient may be procured to establish, not only one state, but twenty, which may in time constitute the grand Republic of Liberia. The territory already acquired by the limited means of this Society, is sufficient to sustain a population of a million or more. Situated as Monrovia is, capable of commanding so large a portion of foreign commerce, as well as the domestic trade of that continent, the Republic will find it its interest, as well as the inclination of its inhabitants, to apply its resources to that object, as well as agriculture; and such a course will be found to correspond with the interest and wishes of this country. As the slave or black population shall continue to be drained from the southern states, and the vacuum to be filled from the north, they will naturally be inclined to abandon the culture of cotton, and engage in a more extended plan of agriculture, as well as embark more generally in manufactures, which will diminish the exports of cotton from thence, increase the demand, and excite an interest in the African Republic,

to engage more generally in that and the sugar-planting, to which by nature, its climate, its soil, and the habits and constitution of its citizens are better adapted. Alexander Hamilton, in his celebrated Treasury Report, in 1789, suggested it problematically, that at some time cotton might be cultivated in the United States. And I will beg leave here to state, problematically, that the Southern States, as low as the 31° of North latitude, will one day become manufacturing and agricultural states; and the principal part of our cotton, sugar and coffee, will be imported from Africa. The state of the world at this time, strongly sustains such a prediction.

The next question that presents itself is, what are the ways and means, and how are they to be marshalled for the accomplishment of this great object?—Certain it is, the limited means of this Society are not at all adequate. The state of public feeling in several of the slave states, is favourable to the principle of Colonization, and to furnishing the means from their own resources; and a majority of the whole states, is favourable to a contribution by the General Government. Virginia, for example, to judge from her late movements, I presume, is disposed to appropriate \$100,000, and if the other slave states shall be similarly disposed, as I have no doubt they shortly will be, and shall contribute in an equal proportion, it will constitute a fund of \$500,000. Let the General Government likewise appropriate the same, which, added to the appropriation by the individual states, furnishes the sum of \$1,000,000.—Now the cost of transportation for an emigrant, will not amount to more than twenty dollars. It would, or ought to be, a consideration with the merchants, that as the object of carrying these people to their homes, from whence their ancestors had been unjustly dragged, is an exercise of the principle of benevolence, and that therefore, they ought to do it upon the most liberal terms. In a voyage to the Cape Verd, or Canary Islands, they would not find themselves far driven out of their course, in going to Liberia. We will, however, lay their transportation at twenty dollars a head, and their subsistence there, until they are able to sustain themselves, at ten dollars a head, including their conveyance to the place of embarkation—which, from the operations of the Society heretofore, I have no doubt will be entirely sufficient. This will make each emigrant cost in the whole, for his transportation, thirty dollars. This sum, thus applied, would transport annually 33,333; a number larger however, than ought to be transported in any one year for some time, and perhaps more than could be obtained from among the free blacks and those derived from manumission together. But let the fund be kept up, or a pledge obtained upon some correct principle, from the states, that it shall be paid when called for or needed; and whatever surplus shall remain, after defraying transportation and sustenance there, let it be applied to improving the condition of the Colony by making internal improvements, opening roads to the interior, in order to invite a communication and trade with the natives, fortifying the towns and harbours, making ample provisions for the future reception of emigrants, purchasing more territory, and giving presents to the natives, in order to conciliate their good will—and especially in improving the militia and the navy. Two or three small well armed vessels, to be kept continually cruising along the coast, would effectually put down the slave-trade, which can never be accomplished without the adoption of some such measure. And two or three sizeable vessels, kept continually plying between the port of Liberia and the United States, would do the carrying business, and save an immense expense in the transportation of emigrants; and besides, a regular trade of this kind kept up, would be the means of introducing among the colonists a knowledge of nautical science, while it would furnish great facilities to the free blacks to go at their own expense to that country. The frequent arrivals from there, would render them familiar with the details of its affairs. Its growing prosperity, the business appearance thereby given to the Colony, its order, security and stability, would inspire them with a sense of the dignity of their nature as human beings, and invite them

to seek among their kindred there, that freedom, equality and independence, which an inexorable destiny has denied them here. By the adoption of some such measures as these, you would not only create a general interest in the blacks to emigrate to that country, but you would enhance its resources, so that it would be able to sustain them to any amount when there. Its moral influence would not only be felt here, but it would inspire the natives there with a sense of your honor, your justice and superior endowments, and hold out inducements to them to follow your example. Maintaining with them relations of peace and amity, they would seek your protection, your commerce and your friendship; led by your example, they would abandon their pursuits of kidnapping, they would demolish their altars erected to idols, they would throw down the crescent and take up the cross. During the operation of these measures, if this fund be maintained, it will be continually accumulating, while the Colony will be preparing to receive the accumulating amount of emigrants; and by the time the whole shall be necessarily called into requisition, it will be adequate to the transportation annually, of three hundred thousand instead of thirty-three. It will be a desideratum to procure among the emigrants as many young people as possible, between the ages of eighteen and thirty, as it will tend to diminish the increase of population here; and as the young go, the old will be inclined to follow, and thus promote the grand object intended. The necessity of adopting some such measures too, as these, must appear evident from the reflection, that an object of such vast magnitude, can never be carried into complete effect without the most perfect system.

It may be thought by some, that the transportation of between sixty and seventy thousand persons annually, is too Herculean a task to be performed; I cannot think so. I see that within the last ten months, about 50,000 emigrants have arrived in Canada, which contains a population of only about 500,000; and surely if that number can, in that time, transport themselves with their own resources, and brave the rigors of a Canadian winter, I should think not sixty, but an hundred thousand may be transplanted in Africa, with the aid of one million of dollars, where an eternal summer prevails. After those measures shall have continued to operate for a time, and after the Colony shall have begun to assume a place among the nations of the earth, they will begin to feel it beneath their dignity to have their country populated by the charity, or voluntary contributions of other nations, standing upon an equality with themselves: and this principle will be found to operate more strongly upon their individual, than upon their national character. It will begin to be thought a species of pauperism to have been indebted to charity for a passage to Liberia, and will operate as a strong inducement to rely upon their own resources for their transit there. * * * But it is said \$500,000 is too large a sum to appropriate to such an object as this. I ask, is it not as important, nay more so, to be providing the means of getting rid of our black population, as that of the Indian? I think circumstances warrant me in saying it is. We are appropriating annually to this service, between five hundred thousand and one million dollars annually. The annuities paid to the various tribes of Indians, amount to upwards of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars annually. * * *

I beg, before I close, to say a few words in relation to the situation of this Society. In speaking of the measures to be adopted, I have said nothing about the operations of the Society. I presume those measures, or any extensive ones, will not be got into operation immediately; and in the mean time their exertions ought not to cease or slacken. I am inclined to think, that by continued exertion, much may be accomplished toward elevating the onerous condition of the poor sons of Africa—and in time, (though it will be long,) the whole may be consummated. Too much cannot be said in commendation of what they have already done, and are doing. But they ought to be relieved. The Government ought to take the Colony under their protec-

tion. Until that, however, shall be done, every exertion ought to be made by the Society, to go on with the principles upon which they set out. There are weighty considerations in favor of the Government taking this Colony under its protection, besides that of facilitating the consummation of the object for which it was instituted. This Colony has to perform all the high functions of a sovereign nation. It has to guaranty its own safety: for this purpose, it has to declare war, to make peace, to establish foreign and internal regulations. It must make its own treaties, establish its own laws, administer justice, secure itself against foreign invasion and domestic insurrection. In the performance of these momentous duties, it becomes necessary to subdue its enemies, punish its own citizens for breaches of its laws, and that even with death. These are grave powers to put in the hands of a few individuals, just emerged from among the very dregs of mankind. It is true, all these things are done for them by this Society; but who are this Society? * * * * Suppose some acknowledged sovereign power should attack the Colonists, in order to bring them under subjection to their own authority, who is to protect them? The Society here, are altogether inadequate to the task; their decrees, under any circumstances, can only operate as matter of advice—they have no mode of enforcing obedience to them. They have no other power over them, than that which wisdom has over virtue. Suppose the Colonists were to be attacked by pirates, their private property might fall a prey to these marauders, and there is no power to redress their grievances, or revenge their wrongs. They are acknowledged, formally, by no nation; nor could any sovereign power, without a very great responsibility, espouse their cause, and more especially if it be not admitted by ourselves, that our Government has power to interfere with the establishment of the Colony. If they be without our jurisdiction, how could we claim a right to punish offences committed against them? The Colony has been established at great labour and expense, and with a partial sacrifice of human life—it has assumed a considerable importance in numbers, wealth, and moral character; and in relation to the natives themselves, a high national character. It would be a great pity, and for which I firmly believe, the United States would be held responsible, if they should fall a sacrifice to their own imprudence, or the cupidity of any other people or power. The territory embraces a population of nearly or quite 200,000 souls; 199,000 of whom, are totally destitute of all civil or political knowledge, and as unqualified to govern themselves, as children, no matter how well they might be disposed to act. The natives (how many of them, I am not exactly informed, but it strikes me, not less than 15,000,) have put themselves under the protection of the Colony, and are assuming the manners, habits, and modes of life, of the Americans—are taught at their schools, imbibing the principles of the Christian religion—are a moral, inoffensive people, learning the arts of husbandry, and doing daily labour for the American Colonists. Such a precious few, aught not to be sacrificed through the neglect or political divisions of a people, to whom they have a right to look for justice and the most ample protection.

A THOUGHT FOR THE AFFLICTED.

When the traveller Park, sinking in despondency in the deserts of Africa, cast his eye on a little plant by his side, he gathered courage: "I cannot look around without seeing the works and Providence of God." And thus asks the Christian: "Will God feed the young ravens? Does he notice the falling of a sparrow? Should not I then hope in God? He that spared not his own Son, but freely gave him up for us all, how shall he not with him freely give us all things? If comfort therefore were the best thing for me, he would have given me comfort."

[From the Vermont Chronicle, May 24.]

CHARACTER OF GEORGE WASHINGTON,*Commander and Chief of the American Army during the Revolutionary War, and first President of the United States.*

Scarce any man, in modern days, has stood higher in the estimation of the whole civilized world, than Gen. Washington. As a patriot, a sincere, enlightened, and undeviating friend of freedom and of the rights of man; as a man of the strictest integrity, as a sincere and a devoted Christian, he has been held up to the gaze of an admiring world, and seldom, if ever, has a voice been raised to question his claim to this high honor. But it seems that all this is a delusion—the very reverse of truth. The honor of this discovery is due to the advocates of the New England Anti-slavery Society, whose delineation of his true character we proceed to copy.

1. *In religion, he was a hypocrite.*

Call the slaveholder by whatever Gospel name you please, his profession of religion is insulting hypocrisy.—*Liberator*, May 18.

2. *As to his honesty, he was a thief.*

His religion and Christianity are insufficient to actuate his obedience to the eighth commandment,—“thou shalt not steal.”—*Ib.*

3. *He was a kidnapper.*

For he is a man-thief, a sinner of the first rank, and guilty of the highest kind of theft, who is condemned to death by the law of Moses.—*Ib.*

4. *He was habitually guilty of perjury.*

Every man-stealer, who takes the oath of office in the United States, commits wilful and corrupt perjury; and during the whole period of his continuance in office, he is living with the guilt of habitual false-swearing attached to him.—*Ib.*

5. *He is now in hell.*

And unless he repents, with all other workers of iniquity, will “have his part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone.” No man-stealer can enter the kingdom of heaven.—*Ib.*

At least, such was the doom for which his general character prepared him, and there is no evidence that he escaped it, even by a death-bed repentance; for he lived and died a *slaveholder*.

This description of the true character of Washington is found in 46 lines in the fourth and fifth columns of the second page of the *Liberator* of May 18. By a more extensive, and yet not laborious, search, we might prove, by testimony equally conclusive, that he was a “robber,” (Prof. E. Wright,) that he was a “tyrant;” (Mr. Garrison, *passim*;) and that he deserved many other equally opprobrious names. We hope men will learn to be consistent on this subject, and if they believe the *Liberator* and its partizans, speak of Washington accordingly.

A PLEA FOR COLONIZATION.

[From the Christian Advocate, N. Y. May 10.]

The reason against colonizing seems not to regard the providences of God in this event; but would require us to forego the accomplishment of a great present good, through fear that an evil may, at some future time, result from it. But the strongest anti-colonizationist cannot show that the evil feared will as certainly follow, as that *present good* will result from colonizing the free people of color. If this be so, Divine Providence is clearly on the side of colonizing. We are to do present good, as our way is opened, and leave the consequences to HIM whose kingdom ruleth over all, and who often works in a way to *nonplus* the sagacity of man.

Can any doubt whether present good results, and will result, from the measures of the Colonization Society? Is it not too evident to admit of doubt that the condition of the colonists is improved by their settling in Africa?—To doubt of this is about the same as to doubt whether freedom, with all its attendant blessings, is preferable to the degraded condition of the free people of color in this country. As soon as they step foot on the Society's territory, they are released from the oppression of contempt; realize the importance of the change in their circumstances; feel the dignity and responsibility of free men; have the means of education, and of acquiring property put into their hands; and while they respect themselves, are respected by every body else. It is equally evident that the country to which they emigrate is made better by them. The vicinity of a well-regulated community must have a salutary influence upon the natives, and has already exerted such an influence to a considerable extent. The Colony at Liberia is a light shining in a dark place, and cannot shine in vain. The neighboring clans have signified a desire to join the Colony, and partake of the blessings of civilization; and so soon as it shall become safe for the Colony, they will no doubt be admitted. And in time, and it would seem at no very distant time, civilization and christianity will be extended over the whole continent, chiefly by the means of Colonization.

And shall we relinquish the project of Colonizing and abandon this glorious object, through fear that it will have an unfavorable influence upon slavery in this country? Can we see any tendency in Colonization to this result? We confess we have not seen it, but the contrary. Here is then what an eloquent speaker has represented as a grand "circle of benevolence," worthy the attention of men and christians. All that is noble in civilization, in government, in morals, and in the christian religion, is embraced in the plan of Colonization.

LATEST FROM LIBERIA.

Extracts of a letter to the Secretary from the Colonial Agent, dated

LIBERIA, February 28, 1833.

DEAR SIR:—I have already by the Brig Ruth, advised you of the arrival of the bark Hercules, and Ship Lafayette, and I have now the pleasure of announcing the arrival of the Brig Roanoke after a passage of forty-two days from Norfolk; the emigrants, 127 in number, have been landed in good health and sent to Caldwell, where they are to remain until they have undergone the process of acclimation, after which they will be distributed among the different settlements, they having the liberty of choice; such as are mechanics, at least a majority of them, will probably prefer locating themselves at Monrovia, as they will have a better chance for the profitable exercise of their vocation.

I regret to be compelled again to urge upon you the importance, nay, the absolute necessity of sending out with every expedition supplies adequate to the subsistence of the people for six months after their arrival. The means at the disposal of the Board will thus be economized, the necessity of such heavy drafts from this quarter be obviated, and a fruitful source of murmuring and dissatisfaction be removed. The quantity needed can readily be ascertained by making the calculation, taking the navy ration as the standard, except, that instead of allowing the same quantity of beef and pork as therein stated, reduce it to two pounds of each per week—spirituous liquors are of course to be withheld. Hospital stores, such as cheap tea, sugar, molasses and vinegar, ought also to be provided. * * * *

The arrival of so many emigrants within these few months past, has caused us no little embarrassment, and this at a time when I was prevented by ex-

treme indisposition, from making such arrangements as to secure their accommodation; by the exertion however of the Vice-Agent, comfortable shelters have been provided for all, and they generally seem to be perfectly satisfied. The people from South Carolina and Georgia have for the most part been located at Monrovia; such as were able rented houses for their families, but for others whose circumstances prevented their providing themselves with shelters, I have agreed to defray the expense of lodgings for six months, as the receptacles at Caldwell are barely sufficient for the accommodation of the emigrants per Ship Lafayette and Brig Roanoke.

It gives me great pleasure to state that the emigrants per bark Hercules, are the most enterprising, intelligent and industrious we have received for several years; many of them are possessed of some capital, and seem desirous of so investing it as will advance the best interests of the Colony; such as are farmers wish to draw their plantation lands in a body, in order that they may be of mutual assistance to each other in their agricultural operations.— This request shall be acceded to so soon as my strength will admit of the exertion necessary for the selection and laying off a suitable range of farm lots.

* * * * * You will be pleased to learn that the emigrants from Charleston and Savannah, as well as those from Maryland, have in most instances recovered from the first attack of the coast fever, and thus far the proportion of deaths is not greater than one per cent. and a fraction, nor do I think it will in the whole, after they have fully undergone their seasoning, exceed three per cent.

The settlement at Grand Bassa, which I visited in the early part of last month, is, you will be gratified to learn, in a condition highly prosperous.— They have put the place in a complete state of defence, by the erection of a barricade capable of resisting any force the natives may bring against it.— They have also cleared up, and are now building on their town lots, in its immediate vicinity. Many of them are at present engaged in planting a large tract of land in cassada for their common use; this is the more necessary, as there is every probability of our being unable to procure a supply of rice until the coming crops are gathered, which will not be sooner than October; the crops of last year having failed for want of rain, at the time when the grain was forming. While at Grand Bassa, my health was such as to prevent me from examining the country in the vicinity of the town; but from Mr. Harris, an intelligent mill-wright, I learned that he had discovered two very fine mill-seats on the land recently purchased of King Joe Harris. They are in sight of the settlement, and distant from it about four miles; the supply of water is abundant during the whole year, and a fall of twelve or fifteen feet can readily be obtained. There is also a great quantity of timber of the best quality growing in the neighborhood; in short for local advantages, fertility of soil, and the facilities of procuring articles of trade or subsistence, I know of no place within the limits of our territory that can compare with the country in the vicinity of the Saint John's river, and I have no hesitation in asserting, that in a short time it will rival, if not become superior to either of the older settlements.

With a view of opening the communication with the chiefs residing a few days' journey in the interior, I have furnished Mr. Weaver with an outfit of such articles as were suitable for presents, and directed him to ascend the St. John's river, either in canoes, or travel along its banks until he arrived at the country of a King who is said to be very powerful, and whose residence is about one hundred and fifty miles distant from the settlement. Bob Gray, one of the Grand Bassa chiefs, has promised to furnish him with guides, and use every means in his power to facilitate his progress through the country. Should he succeed in his mission, which I have every reason to believe will be the case, we will open to ourselves a country represented as fertile in the highest degree, and abounding in the most valuable of African productions.— From what I can learn, I am of the opinion that we will have less difficulty

in penetrating into the interior from this point than any other we could select—it therefore would be the most eligible for missionary operations. * *

Our schools are still prospering and are every day becoming more popular, as the beneficial results arising from our present system of education become more apparent. You will be pleased to learn that Mr. James R. Clarke, who came out in the *Hercules*, has received the appointment of teacher at our recaptured African settlement. The Ladies Auxiliary Colonization Society of Philadelphia, have generously contributed the funds necessary for his support, and directed me to offer him the situation; he has accordingly accepted it, and will so soon as he has recovered from the fever, enter on the discharge of the duties assigned him.

Your suggestions respecting the importance of extending the civilizing and religious influence of the Colony over the neighboring native tribes, shall receive every attention their importance demands—it is a subject which has for some time occupied my thoughts, but as yet we have been able to effect but little. * * * * The expedition from Charleston is the most unexceptionable that has landed on our shores since I have resided in Africa.

Extract of a letter from Dr. Mechlin, dated LIBERIA, March 8, 1833.

"I have barely time to announce the arrival of the ship *Jupiter*, which anchored in our harbour this morning."

A young man in New York has recently received a letter from his mother, one of the colonists, in which she says, "at no period since the foundation of the Colony, has it ever been in so flourishing circumstances;" that "the improvements in Monrovia &c. have been truly astonishing during the last year; and would be considered incredible to any one who had not been to the Colony, or had not been informed of them by some respectable person who had been there."

INTELLIGENCE:

The (Philadelphia) *Biblical Repository and Theological Review* for April 1833, contains a Review of the last Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, in which the Institution is defended with a force and eloquence that must make a deep impression, wherever the article is read.

The (New York) *Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review* for January 1833, also defends the Society, with signal ability, in an article reviewing Mr. Garrison's "Thoughts, &c.," which will, we hope, fall into many hands.

As neither of these periodicals reached us till just as the present number of the *Repository* was going to the press, we are unable to give a more minute notice of them, or to make any extracts.

EDITOR'S CORRESPONDENCE.

The following interesting letters, one from the REV. WILLIAM MCKENNEY, the zealous and efficient Agent of the Maryland State Society, and the other from an enlightened philanthropist, have been too long withheld from the readers of the *Repository*.

NORFOLK, Va., December 27, 1832.

REV. & DEAR SIR,—Believing that it may not be uninteresting to you, I avail myself of a leisure hour to narrate some of the incidents connected with, and growing out of my late operations in Maryland, as Agent of the "Board of Maryland State Colonization Managers."

You are already apprised of the number of emigrants now on board the ship *Lafayette*, on their passage to Liberia. Having formed a personal acquaintance with the whole of them, I am induced to state, for the encouragement of others of their color, and of the friends of Colonization generally, that they

are, in my judgment, entirely worthy of the liberal *outfit* they have received from the "Maryland State Colonization Society," and of the very judicious and *abundant* supply of provisions for the voyage, and for their consumption in Liberia, until they can raise the means to support themselves. This, I am sure, a very large majority of them will soon be able to do. The upright and honorable character they sustained in their recent respective neighborhoods, of which they carry with them satisfactory testimonials, fully authorizes the expectation that they will be *greatly instrumental* in perpetuating the prosperity of the Colony.

The great anxiety expressed by the different heads of families, to have their children *educated*, and the interest which the children themselves always seemed to feel, when the subject was named, furnish a delightful prelude of their future success and prosperity. It affords me great pleasure to state that the heads of five families, numbering nearly fifty persons, are truly pious: others, not heads of families, are also pious.

It will no doubt be gratifying to the friends of Colonization *generally* to learn, that, in this expedition, there are thirty-five *emancipated slaves*, whose recent owners expressed to me a high degree of satisfaction in giving them their liberty under circumstances so entirely favorable to their future prosperity.

The first instance of this voluntary surrender, occurred in Snow Hill, Worcester Co. After having delivered an address to the colored people, in the presence of a large company of whites, I was met at the altar of the church by many of the former, who came forward to receive a small pamphlet, called "News from Africa," published by order of the Maryland State Managers, for gratuitous distribution among the free blacks. A comely, well-dressed, thoughtful, and *intelligent* looking man asked me for a book. While in the act of handing him one, I asked him if he was free. His reply was, no, sir. His master, Mr. John Sturges, Jr. (then unknown to me), was standing by, and immediately said, "Shadrach, you are free from this night." *Wonder*, mingled with an *apparent* degree of doubt, held Shadrach in momentary suspense. His master observing it, said, "Shadrach, I say again, you are from this moment, as free as I am. It was an affecting scene, and one which I shall never forget. Shadrach is now on his passage to Liberia.

The annexed copy of a letter to me, from Col. William Jones (monee) of Somerset Co., who gave me a pressing invitation to visit his family, for the purpose of addressing his people on the subject of emigration to Liberia, is a fair specimen of the tone of feeling which is now gradually and *extensively* circulating on the Eastern Shore of Maryland.

Discarding, as I have always done, any *direct* interference with the delicate and *difficult* question of slavery, as it now exists in our country, and *conscientiously* believing, as I do, that those who are now so ardently, vehemently, and I may add, *rashly* engaged in publishing inflammatory pamphlets on this subject, are the very worst enemies of the cause they espouse: and are, so far as

their influence extends, actually fighting against its success. I cannot, however, but greatly rejoice in the prospect of an ultimate *voluntary* and harmonious action in favour of Colonization, as the only *practicable* mode of doing that which every man capable of thought and feeling, wishes to be done. Legislative action upon this subject, *separate and apart* from Colonization, can never meet the *difficulties* of the case. Human ingenuity, skill, and power *combined*, can never *change colors*, nor remove those prejudices which are consequent upon them.

The unprecedented success of the grand experiment of Colonization, so untiringly and manfully persevered in by your Board, has *utterly* demolished the *principal* difficulty in the way of ultimate general emancipation. The remaining difficulties are *gradually yielding*, not to the force of legal inhibitions and proscriptions, but to a benign power, whose influence, like the "still small voice," is more operative and efficient than the stormy wind, the earthquake and the fire.

The sentiments contained in Col. Jones's letter, furnish a delightful augury of the final triumph of the cause of Colonization, by means of *voluntary* emancipation. They are inseparably united, and stand, or fall together. Destroy the *first*, and you render the second *perfectly hopeless*, and throw over the present heart-cheering project, both as it respects ourselves, and the whole African race, a mantle of darkness, stretching far into the distant future, unmitigated by one ray of light. But the spirit of the age, the tone of public sentiment, and the superintending care of Almighty God will sustain, accelerate, and finally consummate the benevolent purposes of this *just and merciful* cause.

Virginia, will, it is hoped and believed by many, during the present session of her Legislature, act worthy of herself, by making a liberal appropriation in aid of the cause.

I write in haste, and have no time to copy what I have written. Should you deem the facts and incidents I have named, worthy of notice, you are at liberty to give them a place in the African Repository.

Very respectfully and truly yours,
W. M'KENNEY.

—
Somerset County, (E. S.) Md. }
November 3, 1832. }

REV. W. M'KENNEY, Agent for Md.
State Col. Soc. and State Managers.

DEAR SIR:—Pursuant to a resolution, some time since formed, to which my mind has been brought by the great importance of the subject, I now offer as candidates for immediate emigration to the Colony of Liberia in Africa, a family of thirteen slaves, whose names and ages are mentioned below. I am urged to this act from various considerations. 1st. From the consideration of christian duty, which enjoins it on me to seek and promote, as far as in my power, the happiness of mankind.—2. The importance of elevating to higher enjoyments a miserable and benighted race, whose condition in this country must always be that of "hewers of wood and drawers of water," far below the influence of such motives as lead to honorable, manly, and correct

conduct. 3. Their claims on us, founded in the great principle of eternal justice, which can only be fairly met by restoring them to the land of their ancestors—a land to which they have a right, growing out of the uncanceled gift of the God of the universe. And 4. In the hope and *confident belief* that the great effort, which is now making to better the condition of this unfortunate race of our fellow creatures, will result in the final extinguishment of the debt contracted by our ancestors, and so long due to Africa, “a debt in men, money and morals.” This consummation is now ardently desired by all true christians, and philanthropists; and it is with no small degree of satisfaction that I find our most distinguished citizens, lending their aid in the support of a cause, the final triumph of which is only necessary to fill up the measure of our country’s glory. May their efforts abound yet more and more, until the only blot which stains our political escutcheon shall be eternally effaced.

It gives me pleasure to assure you, dear sir, that my children, who are now all grown, heartily unite with me in this act and in the sentiments I have expressed.

Very respectfully, your friend.

WILLIAM JONES, (MONEE.)

Spencer Jones, aged 45; Lucy Jones, 40; Sally Jones, 25; Leah Jones, 23; Moriah Jones, 20; Tamer Jones, 16; Eliza Jane Jones, 11; Charles Jones, 9; William Jones, aged about 9; Edward Jones, 7; Washington Jones, 4; Robert Jones, 4; Margaret Jones, 2.

Extract of a letter to the Editor, dated *Port Gibson (Miss.) May 4, 1833.*

There is a rapidly growing interest in behalf of African Colonization, in this State; and could you visit us and hear the universal disapprobation which is expressed in regard to slavery, you would be surprised. Gloster Simpson is my neighbour, and a freeman of my wife’s uncle: he is greatly esteemed, and is exerting a happy influence for your Society. My uncle has provided for the emancipation of his family.

AUXILIARY SOCIETIES.

Georgetown, D. C. May 21, 1833.

DEAR SIR—Agreeably to your request, made known through the African Repository, I send you a list of the officers of the Georgetown Auxiliary Colonization Society.

Respectfully yours,

ROBERT P. DUNLOP, *Sec’y.*

Rev. R. R. GURLEY.

JAMES DUNLOP, *President*; SAMUEL McKENNEY, *Vice-President*; ROBERT P. DUNLOP, *Secretary*; FRANCIS T. SEAWELL, *Treasurer*;—*Managers*, Thomas Turner, Bennet Clements, Paul Stevens, John Little, Thos. Brown, Robert White, James L. Edwards, Albert Jones, Jeremiah Orme, Henry Addison, Richard Cruickshank, John Dickson.

Extract of a letter to the Editor from GEORGE K. PARDEE, Esq., dated *Wadsworth, O., May 22, 1833.*

We recently had a public meeting at this place, at which the writer of this, had the honour to deliver an address in behalf of the

blacks and colonization; after which, a Society was organized, and funds raised to the amount of about twenty dollars, which will probably be paid over to the Parent Society about the 4th of July next, at which time, we are to have another meeting.

In an extra of the *Ithaca (N. Y.) Journal*, issued May 15, 1833, is the following interesting article:

African Colonization.

At a meeting of the Young Men of Ithaca, convened, pursuant to notice, at the Lyceum Hall of the Academy, on the evening of the 26th of March, 1833, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of organizing a Young Men’s Colonization Society auxiliary to the Tompkins County Colonization Society, CHARLES HALSEY was called to the Chair, and PHILIP C. SCHUYLER appointed Secretary.

The meeting was addressed by Messrs. Pelton, Johnson, and Woodruff, in explanation of the origin, progress, present condition, and future prospects, of the American Colonization Society. After which, the following resolution was submitted and unanimously carried:

Resolved, That this meeting proceed to organize a Young Men’s Colonization Society, auxiliary to the Tompkins County Colonization Society.

The following was adopted as the Constitution of the Society:

ARTICLE 1. This Society shall be called “*The Ithaca Young Men’s Colonization Society*,” auxiliary to the Tompkins County Colonization Society.

ART. 2. An annual subscription of *any sum* shall constitute an individual a member of this Society.

ART. 3. Every member who shall not, at or before each annual meeting, direct his subscription to be discontinued or changed in amount for the succeeding year, will be presumed to have continued the subscription of the preceding year for the next year.

ART. 4. The officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer, and eight Directors; of which Board, when regularly convened, three shall constitute a quorum.

ART. 5. The Treasurer shall keep the accounts of the Society, as well as take charge of its funds, and hold them subject to an order of the Board.

ART. 6. The Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society.

ART. 7. The Society shall hold its annual meeting on the 4th of July, to receive the Annual Report and elect new officers; and when the 4th of July shall come on Sunday, the meeting shall be postponed until the following day.

On motion of Mr. Woodruff, the Society then proceeded to the election of officers, when the following gentlemen were appointed:

WILLIAM A. IRVING, *President*; B. JOHNSTON, *Jun. Vice-President*; JOHN M. PELTON, *Esq. Treasurer*; DR. WM. S. PELTON, *Secretary*;—*Directors*—George McCormick, Wm.

G. Grant, Don. C. Woodcock, P. C. Schuyler, Justus Slater, Wm. T. Eddy, Geo. H. Seaman, Benjamin Durham.

On motion of Mr. Woodcock,

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the Chairman and Secretary, and published in the Ithaca Chronicle, and Journal.

CHARLES HALSEY, Ch'n.

PHILIP C. SCHUYLER, Sec'y.

At a meeting of the Board of Managers held April 10th, it was resolved to address a Circular to the Young People of the United States, in behalf of the claims of African Colonization: and one was accordingly prepared, which subsequently received the sanction of the Board. It occupies more than a column of the Ithaca Journal, and is written with spirit and force.

We learn from the same paper that the first anniversary meeting of this new and hopeful Auxiliary Society, is to be held at the Village of Ithaca, on the 4th of July next, when a Colonization address will be delivered by the Hon. SAMUEL M. HOPKINS, L. L. D. of Geneva, and an opportunity given to all who desire to unite with the Society.

CONNECTICUT COLONIZATION SOCIETY.—

The meeting was held on Tuesday evening, May 21st,—Hon. Judge Peters in the Chair. The meeting was addressed by the Rev. Mr. Danforth, Agent of the Parent Society; Mr. Thomas Hobby of Augusta, Georgia; R. S. Finley, Esq., and Rev. T. H. Gallaudet, Secretary of the Society. Mr. Hobby had lately spent six weeks in Liberia, and his statements in regard to the condition and prospects of the Colony were of the most encouraging kind.—Mr. Finley 'showed, from a variety of facts that had fallen under his own personal observation while at the South, that the constant and increasing tendency of the plan of Colonization, is to lead to the emancipation of slaves, and that this had already taken place, and is still, in a very encouraging manner.—He stated, that so far as his observation had extended, the actual laborers in the cause of Sabbath School instruction among the colored people were, without exception, friends of the Colonization Society.'—Mr. Gallaudet maintained that the late movements in Maryland demonstrate the tendency of Colonization to the entire eradication of slavery.

The friends of Colonization will be gratified to learn from the subjoined article, that a suggestion for the establishment of an Auxiliary Society at Detroit is before the public. We trust that it will be carried into effect promptly and vigorously; and doubt not that the Editor from whom it has proceeded, will contribute all in his power to so desirable a result.

From the Democratic Free Press, Detroit, May 15, 1833.

COLONIZATION.—Every citizen of the U. States is deeply interested in this honorable and humane cause. Not to say that the puri-

ty of our national character is identified with its success, we hazard nothing in asserting that no event would add more to the high dignity which we have acquired abroad, than the speedy manumission of the slave population at the South, and their Colonization in the land of their fathers.

Through the efforts of the American Colonization Society and its auxiliaries, of which there are a large number in many of the States, a suitable location in Africa has been provided to which thousands of free colored people have emigrated, who now enjoy the blessings of freedom and religion; and it is much to be regretted that a few infatuated individuals are at this time endeavoring to impede the progress of an enterprise so highly calculated to advance our own welfare and reputation, as well as to promote the happiness of millions who are at this moment in bondage.

An immediate and total emancipation of the slaves in this country, would without doubt, be inexpedient and dangerous. The change must be effected gradually, to be safe or useful; and we hope and have abundant reason to expect that the institutions above alluded to will be able to defray the expense of emigration of all who may be set at liberty. Slave holders at the South have in various instances declared their entire willingness, nay, their anxious desire to manumit their slaves, provided they could be sent to the Colony; and munificent donations have been recently made to the Society for that purpose—all that is wanting is the zealous action of the North, and the most glorious enterprise that was ever undertaken in this country will be successfully accomplished.

We would invite the attention of our fellow-citizens to this subject. Would it not be well to organize a Colonization Society in Detroit? and while we are acting so nobly to wipe the stain of intemperance from our national character, at the same time to blot out the disgraceful stigma of slavery.

The address delivered in September last, before the Madison Co. (Alab.) Colonization Society, by HARRY J. THORNTON, Esq. is a sensible and eloquent performance. We make room for the following extract:

"Mr. President—I have thus far only considered this Society in its *primary* object and its most *obvious* bearings. I intimated however, that in its consequences, (and in that view I frankly confess its interests are doubly endeared to me,) it might lead to the gentle and gradual, though certain and final, extermination of domestic slavery. Many of its friends entertain the ardent hope, that a little outlet is here made, through which, in time, the whole mass of our black population may be drained; and every one must admit, that if, from any cause, yet latent in the gloom of futurity, a total abolition should become desirable or necessary, the prosperous operation of the Colony of Liberia, will have rendered that object both *feasible* and *facile*.

"With regard to the manner in which the object just alluded to, may be effectuated

through the medium of this Society, if the object itself, under any and all circumstances, be not objectionable, which I trust is not the case, I feel assured that the means it proposes cannot be repudiated. They seem to be just and unexceptionable. The leading cause in this effect, will be voluntary emancipation.—When so happy a receptacle shall have been established for freed slaves, there can be no just obstacle interposed to the exercise of individual beneficence in this behalf. The benevolence of masters will be quickened as by a new birth, when the assurance is felt that, an unmingled blessing will be conferred upon its object. Even hitherto, when that charity was, to say the least of it, doubtful as it regarded its object, and positively detrimental to the community, yet it has been flowing on, in a constant and unremitting stream. May we not suppose that it will swell to overflowing, under the benign auspices of this institution. When emancipation shall have progressed until, by the vacuum created, a large mass of free white labor shall be called into action, its superior advantages will be universally experienced, and even sordid Avarice will begin to release her grasp upon the slave. In some instances, the Society has encountered opposition, from the very fact of its likelihood to produce this result. Such opposition however, I am persuaded, will yield to better reflection. If it be demonstrated that no private right is to be violated—that no slave is to be liberated except by the free consent of his owner, and that consent too, as we suppose, founded upon a full and just apprehension of his own interest, would not a continued opposition exhibit a strange example of human perversity? If we interpose barriers to the exercise of the will of the master to liberate his slave, do we not commit the very violence upon his rights, which we slander the promoters of colonization with endeavouring to practice upon ourselves? It surely is so, unless this singular paralogism can be maintained, that there is only a right to possess and enjoy this species of property, and no right to abandon it.”

REPORTS OF AGENTS.

Greenville, (Il.) April 29, 1833.

DEAR SIR—Not having received an answer as yet, to my last letter, and fearing that it has never reached you, and being very anxious to hear from you, I would venture to address you again. In my last, I stated my reasons why I had not engaged in the business of the American Colonization Society sooner; but lest it may have been lost by the way, permit me to say in this, that it was in consequence of the Indian war last spring, together with the bad seasons, which so much frustrated the public mind, as to render it impracticable to say any thing on the subject.

But I commenced about the 1st of February last past, and have formed the following Societies, viz: Greenville, Bond county Colonization Society; thence I went to Carlisle in Clinton county, and found that Mr. Edwards had once addressed the people on the subject, and had procured a considerable number of subscribers; but being hurried onward by his

professional duties, he had left the constitution in the hands of the subscribers with a request that they would organize and report to him as soon as they could make it convenient; but I found that they had neglected to do it, and there was no Society in the place: I made an effort, and succeeded very well.—In Lebanon, St. Clair county, a similar effort had been made, but failed in like manner.—There I also formed a very respectable Society. I also succeeded in Belleville in forming a good Society, of which the Governor of the State is the President. I also formed a Society in Waterloo, in Monroe Co.; also in Salem, in Marion county; also in Hillsboro', in Montgomery county—a small Society of but 22 members, and \$27 subscribed.

I visited Macaupin, Montgomery county, and commenced a Society; but as the place is small and several of the most efficient men were absent, it was thought best to leave it with the Rev. — Otwell to call them together at a proper time for the purpose of organizing, which was done. In Alton, in Madison county, I pursued a similar course; and there for the first time took up a collection amounting to \$187. I would have solicited donations and lifted collections had it not been that the times were so very hard and money so scarce, and believing that I should ultimately obtain more money as well as more friends to the Society by obtaining subscribers and requesting the people to pay the money to the Treasurer of the several Auxiliary Societies, between the time then present, and the 4th of July next. But as times are a little more promising, I shall from henceforth solicit donations and make collections as well as form Societies. I also made an effort in new Nashville, Washington county; the place is small, and it happened to be an unfavorable time: I left the business with the Rev. — Fisher, who promised me that he would do all that he could, and write to me on the subject. The whole amount subscribed at present and to be paid by the 4th of July, is about \$300. I hope that the most of them will be prompt to pay; but time is the best fortune-teller. One thing, however, I think I may say from what I have seen and heard since the commencement of my feeble labours, and that is, that should the seasons again become fruitful and money plenty in this country, as it formerly was, this State will contribute as much to this glorious cause, as any other State in the Union, that is no more wealthy. * * * * * Nearly all the Preachers of the Gospel, with whom I have become acquainted, have promised me to take up collections for the Society, on or about the 4th of July.

I think I shall be able to raise considerable money this season, and shall get the business in such a way, as to afford annually, considerable aid. And if public opinion may be expected to procure the passage of such laws as shall aid on with the work, I think we have nothing to fear, for the Society is growing in respect here very fast indeed. The appropriation made by the Legislature of Virginia, seems to add a new spring. May gracious Heaven dispose the Nation to come up to the help of this most benevolent Institution. And may the great disposer of events,

bless the Colony so as to afford encouragement to the free people of colour to emigrate. I have found one family, if not two, who will apply for a passage to Liberia next spring. I wish that you would drop me a line on the subject, informing me how to proceed, if this should be the case.

JAMES LATTA, Agent.

R. R. GURLEY, Sec'y. A. C. Society.

From the (Frankfort) Commonwealth.

SECOND WESTERN EXPEDITION TO LIBERIA.—Having, at the solicitation of the Managers of the Kentucky Colonization Society, conducted the emigrants from this State, who formed a part of the last expedition to Liberia, to New Orleans, and assisted the Agent of the Parent Society in making arrangements for their transportation, I offer you the following for the information of those of your readers who may feel interested in the great work we have commenced.

The emigrants from this State departed for New Orleans about the 22d of March last, and were, by the kindness and liberality of Capt. SHRODES of the Steamboat Mediterranean, provided with a gratuitous passage. The number amounted to 102—of which, 32 were liberated by Rev. Richard Bibb, of Logan county; 12 by Mr. William O. Dudley, and 6 by Cyrus Walker, Esq. of Adair county; 7 by Mrs. Mary O. Wickliffe, of Lexington; 5 by Rev. J. D. Paxton, 4 by A. Minor and D. Caldwell, 3 by Mrs. Powell, and 2 by Rev. John C. Young, of Mercer county; 4 by the heirs of Dr. A. Todd, deceased, and 3 by Jonathan Becraft, of Burbon county; 6 by Benjamin Johnson, Esq. of Hillsboro', Ohio; 2 by Rev. Dr. Blackburn, of Versailles; 3 by James Hood, of Fleming county; 1 by A. J. Alexander, of Franklin county; 1 by John Hobson, of Warren county; 1 by Dr. B. Roberts, of Logan county; and one by Cyrus Edwards, of Illinois; and the remainder were free persons. These were joined at New Orleans by 44 from Tennessee, 1 from St. Louis, 1 from Ohio, and one or two from New Orleans, making the whole number about 150. Of these, only 6 were above the age of fifty years, and only 5 between the ages of forty and fifty. They were pronounced by the most competent judges, to be superior to any collection of colored people which they had ever seen. They were all in good health, and were not only well satisfied, but delighted with the idea of going to a country where they could be truly free. They were accompanied by Mr. A. H. SAVAGE, of Ohio, a young gentleman who expects to spend his life in the interior of Africa. Mr. H. D. KING, an Agent from Tennessee, also went out as a passenger, to examine the country and return in a short time.

The Brig *Ajax*, commanded by Capt. Wm. H. TAYLOR, (the gentleman who commanded the vessel which carried the last emigrants from New Orleans,) was chartered to transport them to Liberia, and all the necessary arrangements having been made, they departed from the port of New Orleans on the evening of the 20th of April. Every accommodation was afforded, and we parted with them, with the desire that He who is "God of all the

ends of the earth and the confidence of them who are far off upon the sea," would watch over them during their perils on the deep, and bring them safely to a land which they may call their own. The whole expense of the expedition amounted to about \$5,000; of which \$2,300 were paid by the Ky. Col. Society.

Thus has departed the second expedition from the Valley of the Mississippi, to Africa. It would be unnecessary here to enlarge on the probable results. If our friends will only afford us the requisite pecuniary aid, the work may be carried on with great success among us. From information I have received, I have no doubt but that with proper exertion, one hundred and fifty of the first order of emigrants might be despatched from this State during the next fall. The only difficulty is the want of funds; the sum requisite for provision, transportation, &c. is \$35 a head. Shall we continue our exertions in this great work of interest, as well as benevolence, or shall we slacken our exertions, solely because the friends of our country and Africa will not afford the necessary aid to carry them on? It gives me pleasure to state, that the Board of Managers have determined to fit out another expedition in the fall, and have directed their agents to make the necessary preparations. We hope our friends will bear it in mind, and act with the same liberality for which they have heretofore been distinguished.

T. A. MILLS, Cor. Sec. Ky. Col. Society.
Frankfort, May 4, 1833.

LETTERS FROM COLONISTS.

From the (Richmond, Va.) Religious Herald, May 3.

We have been favored with the following letter, written by a young colored man, who was liberated about four years ago, and sent from Fredericksburg to Liberia, where he is now employed as a printer; the man alluded to as having just arrived was unmitted by the same person. The letter is given with scarcely an alteration or correction.

MONROVIA, LIBERIA, Feb. 11, 1833.

DEAR SIR,—I received your letter of the 20th inst. by the arrival of the ship *Lafayette*, with an hundred and fifty-four emigrants.—Among the emigrants, was Mr. —, in whose care came your letter, and an arithmetic called Colburn's Sequel, a book that is of great service to me, and I am very much obliged to you for it. You also recommend to my care Mr. —, a young man sent out by your mother. He is now comfortably situated at Caldwell, one of our middle settlements. He is working for 75 cents a day: he was down here on yesterday, he intends working by the day until he can purchase some farmer's tools to commence farming for himself.

We express great joy and thankfulness to your Mother and her offspring for permitting of his liberation, and greater thanks to that God, who overrules the heavens and the earth; and holds in his hand the hearts of the sons and daughters of men, and directs their course

whithersoever he pleases, even in bringing them across the waters of the great deep.— Truly his mind is in obscure darkness, but he seems to see the light of prospect from afar, and is cheered.

Affairs of the Colony appear quite smooth at present. The war horn is not heard here. The natives are more friendly with us. Our recaptured Africans seem somewhat presumptuous at times. I thank you for the papers, and the book which my worthy friend Mrs. —* sent me, called the Pilgrim's Progress. All these were received, and are much valued by me. I hope many months will not elapse, before I shall receive more presents of the same kind from you all.— Though I have nothing to send you in return but good will, and that I am trying to live a christian's life in this dark and benighted land.

On the 16th of January the bark Hercules arrived in our port, with an hundred and seventy emigrants, from Charleston, South Carolina. They are pretty well. And on the 20th the ship Lafayette arrived with an hundred and fifty-four emigrants, from Baltimore, Maryland, all I believe in good health. We have been favoured with the above-mentioned numbers to come over on this side the great waters to join this federal head so to speak. We are looking every hour for the arrival of the ship Jupiter. We hope many months will not pass away before we shall see our harbour glittering with ropes that have been the bearers of the people destined to return to the land of their forefathers.

Let me say something of the above-named — whom your mother sent over; when he first approached my presence, I had no knowledge of him; but the name he bore, after a little discourse, caused me to recognize him. He is now comfortably situated at Caldwell, the middle settlement, where he can make a crop. When he first arrived he acted like a young horse just out of the stable—he tested freedom. I gave him the best instruction I could.

There is, as you will see inserted in the 10th No. of the Liberia Herald, three extensive buildings lately erected solely for the accommodation of new-comers. Ho! all ye that are by the pale faces' laws oppressed, come over to the above-mentioned destiny.

The Charleston people, (the most of them) are very intelligent. The major part of them are living in Monrovia keeping shops.

You are desirous to know the exact number of the Colonists, I will give it as near as I can, (counting the two last arrivals) 2829 in all.

Good news from Canada, while I was penning the foregoing lines, my ears were assailed with shouts of praise and hallelujahs to God and the Lamb forever; it is about ten o'clock in the night. They proceeded from a young man who has been for sometime under conviction of sin. He lives near us, suddenly he experienced the love of Almighty God shed abroad in his heart. The same miraculous scene took place in my own heart on the Sabbath day, 29th of January, 1831. Oh the wonders of redeeming grace! On this

subject I could pen nothing but what you are acquainted with.

Remember, I beseech thee, that I wish to become one of the blowers of the Gospel trumpet. That I cannot be, without such books as are adapted to prepare me.

Since my exit from death unto life there has been a new church erected, called the Second Baptist Church, of Monrovia; the pastor of which is the Rev. Colin Teage. Our new church moves slowly, for want of funds to defray the expense. I trust we will not always be in this barren state. I would offer a petition but am doubtful whether or not it would be received or noticed. Nothing do I hear of the coloured inhabitants of the town of Fredericksburg migrating to Liberia. The laws of Virginia surely must be more favorable to the man of color than the laws of South Carolina; surely they do not shrink back for the fabrications of its enemies; will they still lay down in Turkish apathy? Africa is a land of freedom; where else can the man of color enjoy temporal freedom but in Africa? They may flee to Hayti or to Canada, but it will not do; they must fulfil the sayings of Thomas Jefferson, "Let an ocean divide the white man from the man of color." Seeking refuge in other parts of the world has been tried, it is useless. We own that this is the land of our forefathers, destined to be the home of their descendants.

You are not aware perhaps that there has recently been a new settlement established at Grand Bassa, under the superintendence of Mr. Wm. Weaver; it is a place that many will resort to. The settlement at Grand Bassa is located in a very good place, and the inhabitants comfortably situated. Our infant commerce is stretching out her hands, and inviting the weary wanderers of the Ocean to call. If your readers will peruse the Liberia Herald they will see for themselves the number of vessels that arrive and depart in the course of a month.

I have given you my brightest ideas on things at present that I am capable of doing; pardon my errors and overlook my inferior discoveries. Remember my best respects to the family and particularly my friend Mrs. —.

I remain your friend,

J. C. M.

From the Charleston (S. C.) Observer.

The following letter from one of the female emigrants from this city, to her patronesses in Savannah, has been sent to us for publication.

MONROVIA, (AFRICA), 9th Feb. 1833.

HONORED & DEAR LADIES—I arrived here on the 16th of January, in 35 days from Savannah, without any accident or serious sickness on the way. We had our Sabbath School, during the passage, regularly attended, together with a weekly school, organized by Mr. C. Henry on the passage. We had regular service on the Sabbath, in which the Capt. and Mr. Hobby, a very amiable young gentleman from Georgia, always honored us with their presence. The Captain has been uncommonly kind and attentive to us, and far exceeded our expectation. We had favorable

* His former Mistress.

winds, and pleasant weather, most of the way—in this, the love of God was manifest towards us.

There are three churches here, one Methodist and two Baptist.—The Presbyterian church is not finished. The Agent, Mr. Mechlin, has granted us the use of the Court-House until ours is finished: we expect to worship there next Sabbath 10th inst.

I can say very little about Liberia at present. They have an Infant School here, under a competent teacher, a Mrs. Johnston, sent out here under the patronage of an Association of Ladies in America. I have visited her school, and presented the children some of the books you sent us on board the Hercules; for which, dear ladies, permit me to return each of you my humble and sincere thanks. The Infant School System, sent me by Miss —, was of great use to me, for which I owe you a debt of gratitude which I can never repay. I feel that we have the prayers of each of you, and it will be our unceasing vigilance to merit a continuance of the same, together with the Christian church in America. We have formed several meetings for prayer, every Monday afternoon, and the first Thursday of each month for females; and we are about forming a Charitable Society, the same as that which has been formed by the male emigrants on board the H.—which they, in order to manifest their gratitude and high esteem for Capt. L. have named it the Longcope Benevolent Society; the name of ours we have not determined as yet. I am delighted, and feel comforted in the thought, though weak and unqualified as I am, God can make me useful to these perishing heathen.

The natives are naked, except a piece of cloth wrapped about their middle. Some appear indifferent about receiving instruction, and others desirous to receive instruction.—The present state of the heathen is deplorable beyond description. They spend their days in wretchedness and misery, without the comfort of the Gospel,—they are setting in the region and shadow of death. O! my dear Miss —, when will this vast continent be brought to a knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus, and Africa be a land of virtue and religion as it is of freedom? O, may you never forget us; and if you are not permitted to visit this distant clime, and declare the efficacy of a Saviour's blood, yet you can pray for us; and by your exertions can awaken others to do the same; and in the day of account, may those who heard from your lips the way of life, rise up and call you blessed. Write soon and pray for me. L— J—.

The Vermont Chronicle announces the publication of a pamphlet entitled

'Remarks on AFRICAN COLONIZATION and the ABOLITION OF SLAVERY: In two parts. By a citizen of New England. Windsor, Vermont;—published by Richard's & Tracy: pp. 43.'

"This pamphlet," says the Chronicle, "is designed to meet the growing opposition to the Colonization Society, especially as manifested in the 'Thoughts' and other publica-

tions of Mr. Garrison and his coadjutors.—Part 1st is a brief account of the origin, progress and ends of the Colonization Society;—Part 2d, of the origin, progress and aims of the Abolitionists. The publication is timely, and this, or something like it, should be at hand, wherever the 'Thoughts' and other publications of Abolitionists are found. The reports and documents of the Colonization Society have become very voluminous, and it is difficult to find a connected series of them in one place. Of course it is a labor to collect from them a refutation of the falsehoods propagated against the Society; while, on the other hand, it is easy for any opposer of the Society to collect from Mr. Garrison's documents, the whole array of objections and slanders so industriously circulated by the Abolitionists. The pamphlet is ably put together, the authorities and illustrations are from authentic documents, accompanied by their proper references. It is written with coolness and candor, and without railing and useless declamation. We know of no publication so well adapted to the present state of feeling on the subject, as this."

DISCUSSION ON COLONIZATION.

On Thursday evening, according to previous appointment, the discussion on the comparative merits of the principles of the Colonization Society, and of the friends of immediate abolition, as a means for the safe and salutary extinction of slavery, took place in Clinton Hall.

Rev. Mr. Frost of Whitesboro' presided.—The meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. Leonard Bacon of New Haven.

Mr. R. S. Finley, Agent of the Colonization Society, opened the discussion, in favour of its claims, and spoke precisely one hour. He was followed for the same length of time by Rev. S. S. Jocelyn of New Haven, in favour of the principles of immediate emancipation.

Mr. Finley then occupied ten minutes, Mr. Jocelyn, ten, and Mr. Finley ten, when the debate terminated. The Hall was thronged to overflowing. Among the audience we noticed distinguished gentlemen, from various parts of the country, including one or two clergymen from the South.—*Gen. of Temp.*

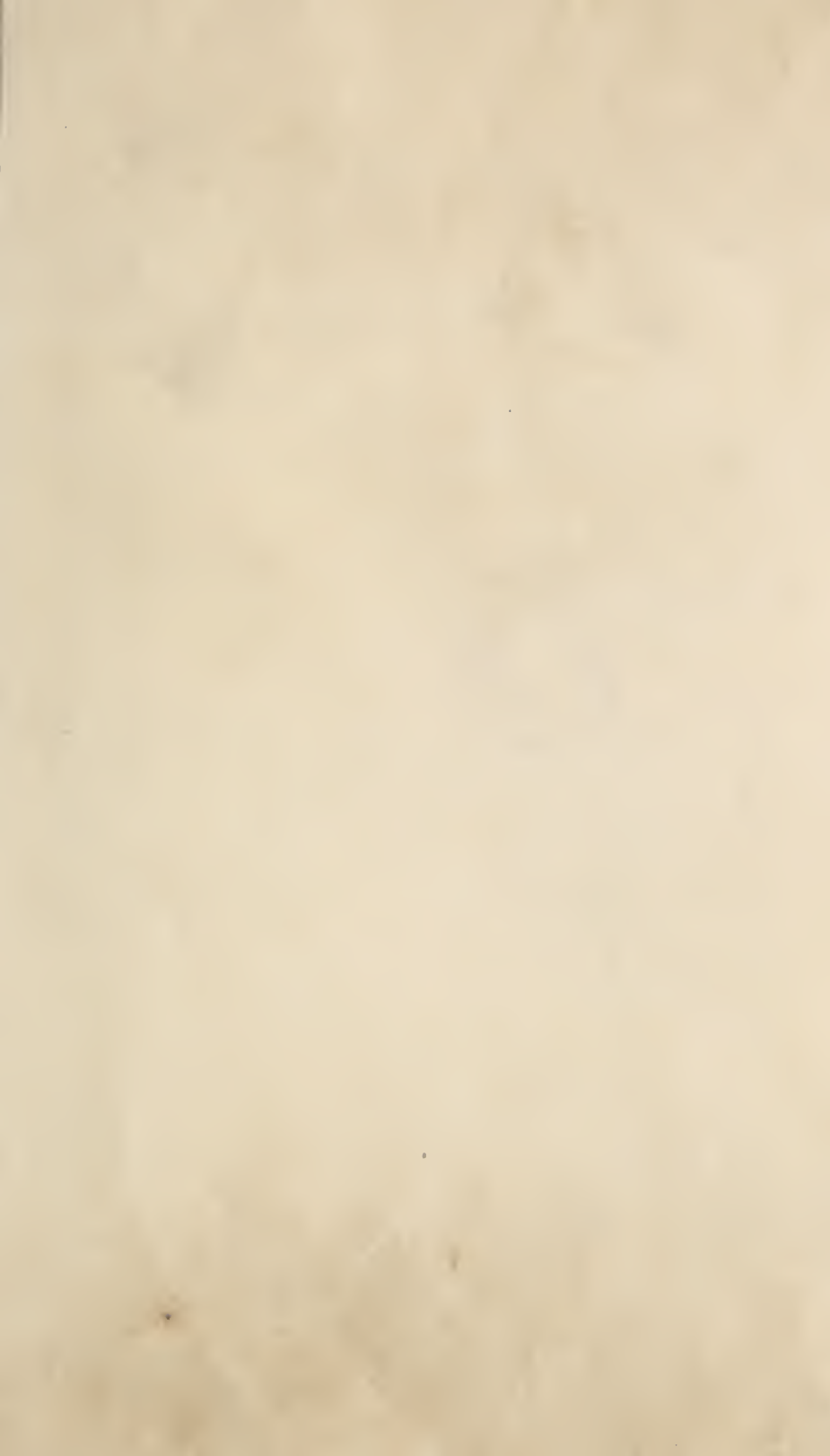
From the Foreign Missionary Chronicle.

AFRICAN MISSION.

The friends of this mission will be happy to learn that there is a prospect that Mr. Finney will, at no distant period, be joined by one or two missionary brethren.

ERRATUM.

Page 61, under the head of Contributions, for Springfield, Ohio, Colonization Society, \$55 18, read *Springfield, Ohio, Colonization Society, \$15 13.*



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